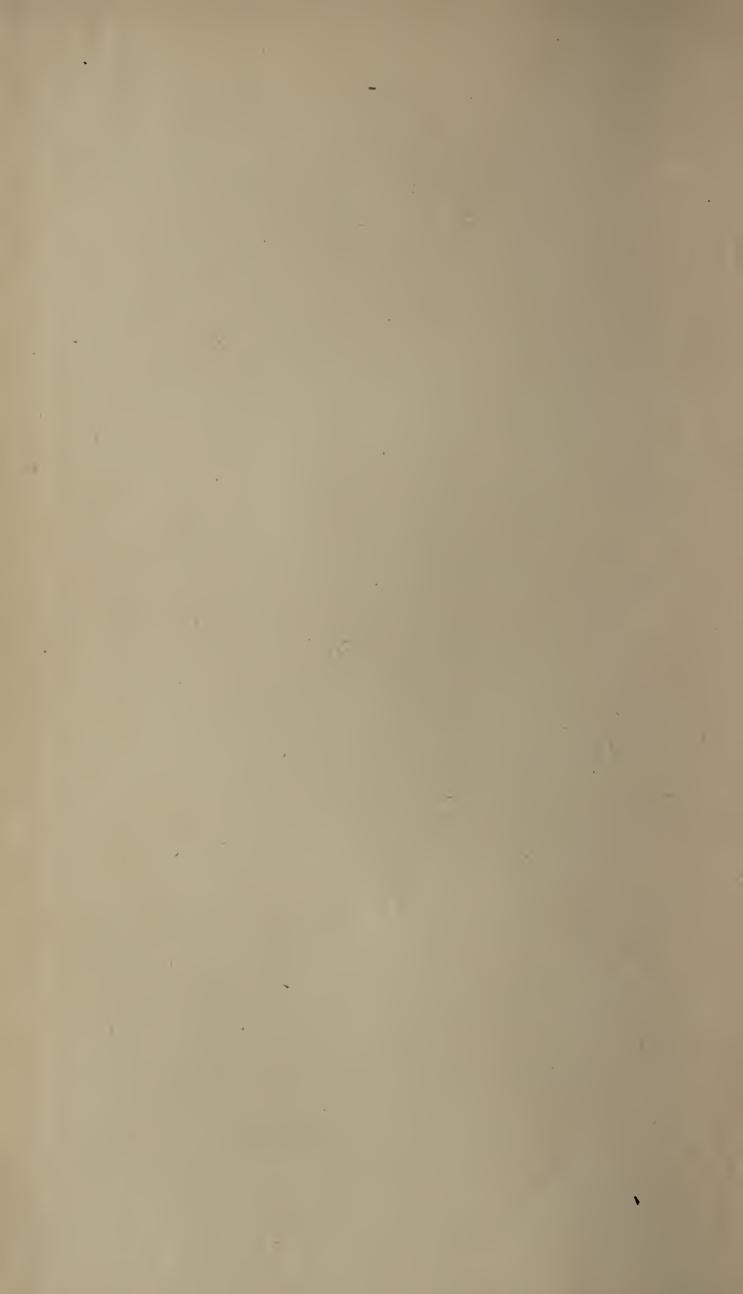




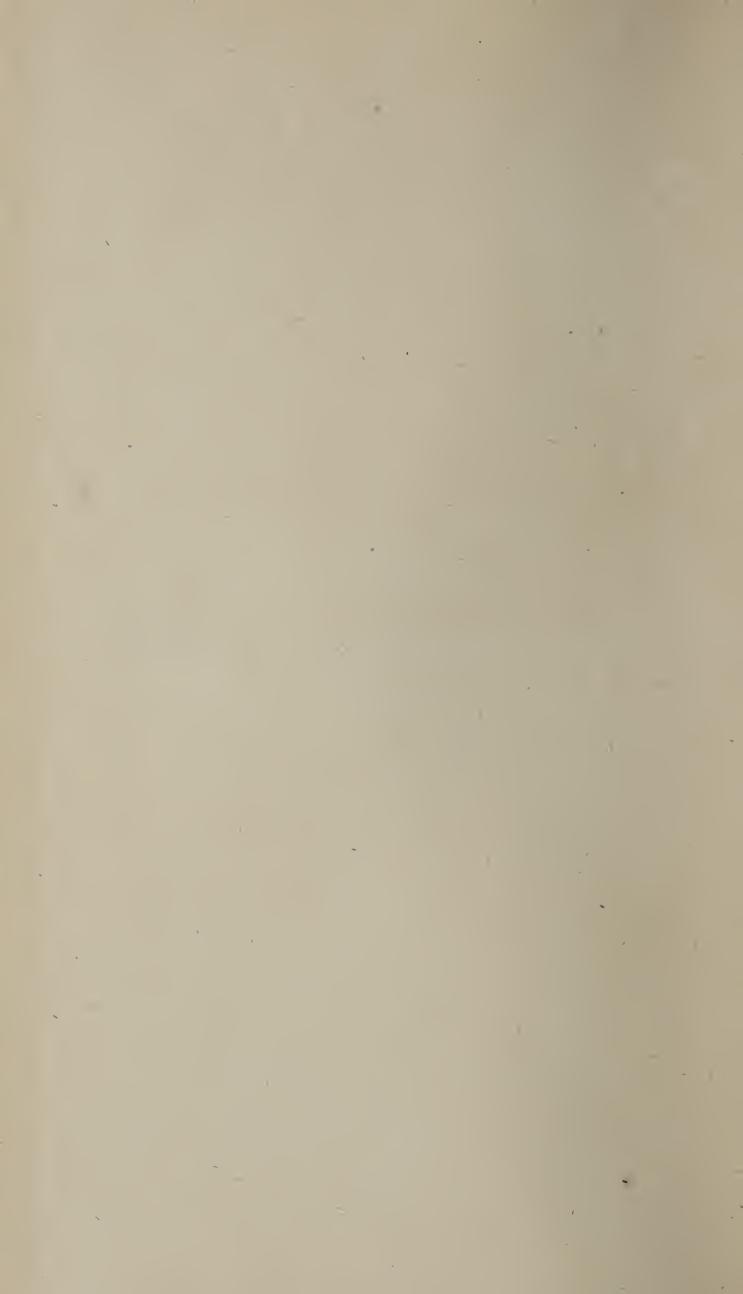
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VOL. II.

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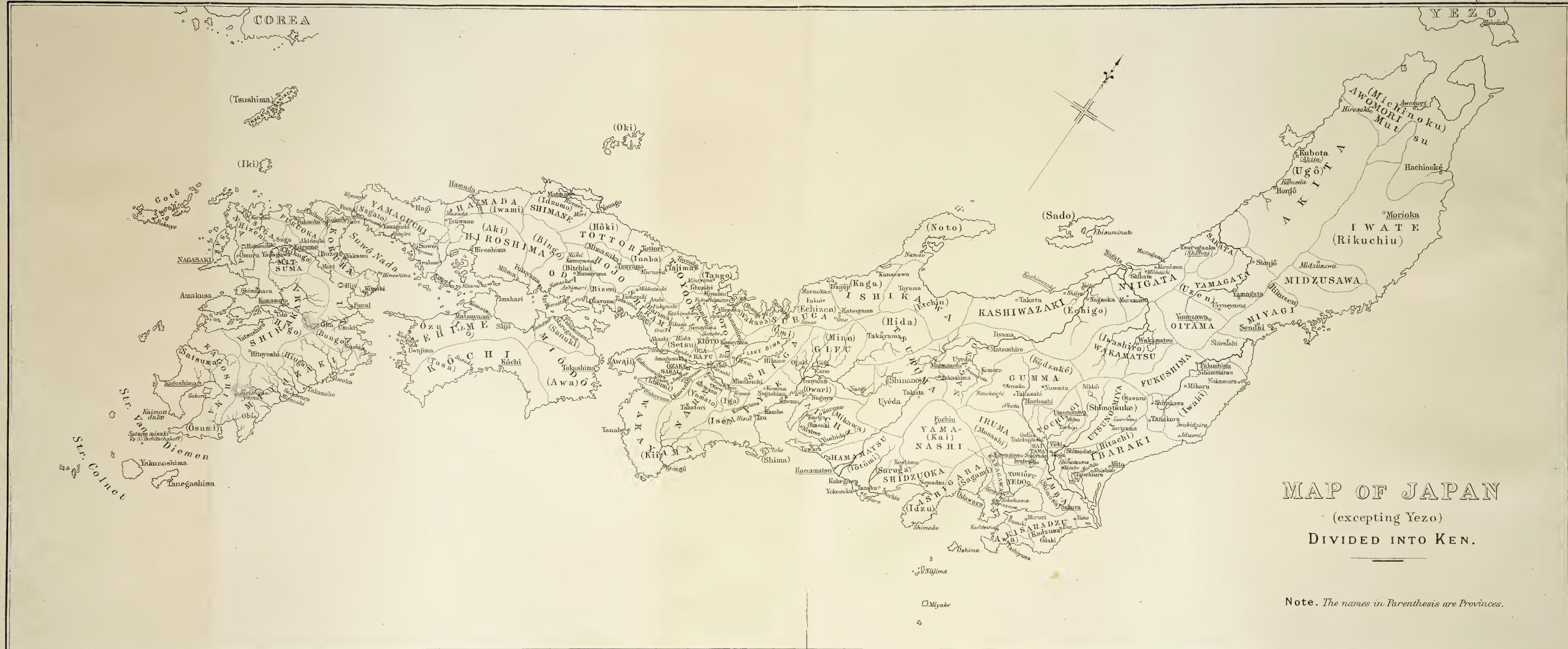
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VOL. II. - 1865 TO 1871.

COMPLETING THE WORK.

BY

Francis Ottiwell Adams, F.R.G.S.

HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF EMBASSY AT BERLIN; FORMERLY
HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S CHARGE D'AFFAIRES AND
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HISTORY OF JAPAN.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

1865.

Shimidzu Seiji tried and sentenced to be Degraded and Decapitated.—Brought to Yokohama and rides to Execution Ground.—Execution deferred till the morrow.—Decapitated in the presence of 20th Regiment.—Head Exposed.—Arrest and Execution of second Murderer.

The preceding volume ended with the arrest and confession of Shimidzu Seiji for participation in the murder of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird, and brought the History down to the end of 1864.

The assassin was tried and found guilty, and the Shimidzu judgment upon him was that he should be brought to tended to be Yokohama on a certain day, and, after being led on and decapitated. horseback through the principal streets, should be decapitated at the regular place of execution. was not, therefore, to be allowed the usual privilege of a samurai, namely, to put an end to his own life by the process of hara kiri or seppuku. And this

CHAP. I. 1865. was perfectly right; otherwise, he would have been looked up to as a hero after death, and, like the graves of the celebrated forty-seven rônins, pious hands might still deck his grave with green boughs and burn incense upon it. It was necessary that the natives should learn to look upon the murder of a foreigner as bringing with it degradation and a dishonourable death.

Brought to Yokohama, and rides to execution ground. In the month of January, says Herr Lindau, Seiji was consequently brought to Yokohama, and on a given day he appeared sitting on a horse, his arms and legs bound, but not so as to prevent his moving them. He was neatly dressed and fresh shaved, and, though pale and thin, showed not a trace of fear or excitement. Before and behind him walked Japanese soldiers. Some were armed, others carried large boards on which Seiji's crime and sentence were written in native characters.

From time to time, after the manner of criminals, he opened his mouth, and poured forth in a kind of recitative such sentences as the following:—

"My name is Shimidzu Seiji. I am a *rônin* from Awamori, and I die because I have killed foreigners.

"This evening my head falls, and to-morrow it will be exposed in the market-place of Yokohama. The foreigners will then see a face which has never feared them till death.

"It is a bitter day for Japan, when a man of noble birth must die because he has killed a foreigner.

"I should have known how to die the death of a samurai with courage. But I have been given over to the enemies of Japan, and the death of a common criminal awaits me.

"Men of Yokohama who hear me, tell the patriots

of Japan that the rônin Shimidzu Seiji has not trembled in the presence of death."

At four o'clock the procession left the streets on its way to the execution ground at Tobé. On the road Seiji took what was to be his last meal. He appeared famished, and ate eagerly everything put before him. He also drank with evident relish several cups of warm saké, and conversed freely with the attendants. By the time Tobé was reached it was quite dark and very cold; torches were lighted, and Seiji was taken off his horse and unbound. Without following Herr Lindau into all the details, it suffices to say here that after some time the Governor of Kanagawa (Yokohama) arrived, with other officials, and it became known that the execution was put off till the morrow, Execution as the British Representative had insisted that the till the morrow. 2nd Battalion of the 20th Regiment, to which the murdered officers had belonged, should be present. The criminal was then placed in a litter, and taken back to prison.

About eight o'clock on the following morning the Decapitated in soldiers of the 20th Regiment arrived at the execution presence of 20th Reginground, and were posted there. Soon afterwards Seiji ment. appeared. He sprang lightly out of the litter, and walked quickly to the place where the executioner awaited him. He was dressed with the utmost care. After he had spoken some words with the executioner, an attendant approached to bind his eyes, but he begged to be spared this, saying that there need be no fear of his flinching. His request was granted. He now pushed with his feet the mat, on which he was to kneel, close to the hole made to receive his head, and then knelt down. Two attendants stood by his side ready to support him if he showed any

CHAP. I. 1865. weakness. He then made a slight movement with his shoulders, so that the wide garment which covered the lower part of the nape of his neck fell down and exposed the whole neck.

The executioner drew a long heavy sword from its scabbard, and held it out to see that it had no notch; then he put back his wide sleeves, to give free movement to his arms, and raised both hands several times above his head, so as to be sure that nothing would interfere with him whilst dealing the fatal blow. Seiji followed each movement with the greatest atten-"Is everything ready?" he inquired; and on being answered in the affirmative, he added, "then pour hot water on the sword, that it may cut well, and take care to finish your work with one cut. I will now sing my death-song, and when I turn to you and say 'all right,' then I will bend my neck forward and remain motionless, so that you can aim and strike calmly." He now twisted his features into horrible contortions, after the manner of Japanese actors and many a native picture of men about to meet death, and sang in a loud voice: "Now dies Shimidzu Seiji, the rônin; he dies without fear and without remorse, for to have killed a barbarian redounds to the honour of a patriot." This done, he turned, with his face still distorted, to the executioner, gave the signal, and then stretching forth his neck and closing his teeth tightly, he received the death-blow without stirring a muscle.

Exposure of head.

The head was exposed at the entrance of Yoko-hama during two days, together with a placard on which Seiji's crime and sentence were written.

Arrest and execution of second murderer.

The second murderer was discovered some months later, and did not at all answer to the description

given by Seiji. His name was Mamiya Hajimé, a Satsuma youth of nineteen years old. He was executed in the courtyard of the Tobé prison, in the presence of several English officials. Herr Lindau describes him as having shown the greatest cowardice, but one of the eye-witnesses has stated to me that he was simply stupefied, perhaps from the effects of liquor.

CHAP. 1. 1865.

CHAPTER II.

1865.

Bakufu prefer to pay Indemnity rather than open Shimonoséki.

—Chôshiu desirous of opening it.—Arrival of Sir H. Parkes.

—Members of Diplomatic Body.—Payment of first Instalment.

CHAP.
II.
Bakufu prefer to pay indemnity rather than open Shimonoséki.

With respect to the affair of Shimonoséki, the Yedo Government informed the foreign Representatives, on the 6th of April, that the opening of a new port would not only affect their internal affairs, but also create some inconvenience to the different foreign Powers; that, properly speaking, the Prince of Chôshiu ought to pay the indemnity, but that, as he was one of the daimios of Japan, it was impossible to permit him to enter into negotiations with the Powers, and therefore the bakufu were obliged to become responsible for the money. They declared that they had decided to pay it rather than open a new port in the Inland Sea, and this was natural, inasmuch as the port would not be in their territory, but in that of a daimio. At the same time, they stated that the difficulties with Chôshiu were not quite settled, and they declared their desire to delay the periods of payment of the different instalments.

The ministers of the Prince of Chôshiu, on the

other hand, seemed to have been afraid that the shôgun was intending to possess himself of Shimo- Thôshiu noséki, and to monopolize the trade with foreigners desirous of opening it. there, upon its being thrown open to them. They wished, therefore, to attempt to open that port themselves to foreign commerce, without the intervention of the bakufu, and they even proposed to send Envoys to England, invested with plenipotentiary powers, and bearing an address from the Prince to the Queen, in order to effect their object.

A great deal of correspondence took place between corresthe Governments of the four Powers as to this between the indemnity, but its insertion here would only weary respecting indemnity.

The British Government always showed themselves more desirous of obtaining extended facilities of commerce, by the earlier opening of Hiôgo, for instance, than of exacting a heavy sum from Japan, whilst the other three Governments pressed for payment of the whole amount of 3,000,000 dollars.

Negotiations with respect to this subject mainly occupied the attention of the different Representatives. Mr. Consul Winchester remained in charge of Mr. Consul Winches-British interests until the arrival of the new Envoy, ter in charge till Sir Harry Parkes, who reached Nagasaki from Sir H. Parkes. Shanghai on the 27th of June. M. Léon Roches at this time represented France, Mr. Portman was in charge of the American Legation, and Mr. de Graeff von Polsbroek was Dutch Political Agent and Consul-General. The first instalment of 500,000 Payment of first instal-Mexican dollars was paid by the 1st of September into ment. two English banks at Yokohama, to be held there subject to the expected instructions of the different Governments as to the disposal thereof.

CHAPTER III.

1865.

Ex-Dainagon of Owari commands Troops against Chôshiu.—Two parties in the Clan.—"Vulgar View Party" obtain upper hand.—They decapitate the three Karôs, &c., on approach of Bakufu Army.—Sentence on five of the seven Kugés.—Army returns to Ôzaka.—Troubles in Chôshiu.—Takasugi Shinsaku had organized Kiheitai in 1863.—Joined by 500 men.—Defeats Vulgar View Party.—Dissension ceases in Clan.—Saigô Kichinoské of Satsuma effects an understanding between the two Clans.—His previous Life.—Arrival of Shôgun at Kiôto with four of the Rôjiu.

CHAP
III.

Ex-Dainagon of Owari commands
troops
against
Chôshiu.

Two parties in the clan.

The ex-Dainagon* of Owari had been appointed commander-in-chief of the forces sent to chastise

* This was the ex-daimio of Owari. He was called Saké no Dainagon, or *ci-devant* Dainagon. This rank is now abolished.

The Dainagon followed after the Naidaijin in the Council of State. The Chiunagon came next in order to them. The functions of the Dai- and Chiu- nagon were the same as those of the Dai-jin, to whom they bore the same relation as the suké to the kami in the sub-departments of the government, or as the taiyu and shôyu to the kiô in the departments. After the committal of the affairs of the state into the hands of the Military Class, the titles of Dainagon and Chiunagon were still conferred on nobles of the Mikado's court, and on the daimios called the Go-san-ké, descended from Iyéyasŭ (vol. i. p. 67). The Dainagon were the medium of communication between the sovereign and his people.—E. S.

Chôshiu, after the failure of the attempt of that clan upon Kiôto. It appears that there were two parties in the clan, one of which had abstained from taking part in the attack on the capital, and after its failure they had obtained the upper hand in the local "Vulgar government, and had either condemned to domiciliary View Party" obcarin upper confinement or to imprisonment Masuda, Fukubara, hand. Kunishi, and all those who were administering the affairs of the clan at the time of the attack. They had also confined the Prince and his son in a temple, thereby offending the general body of their fellowclansmen, who stigmatized the authors of these measures as the Vulgar View Party. The latter retorted by arresting their traducers, and effectually put a stop to the expression of such opinions.

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Such being the condition of affairs when the On approach of invading army appeared on the frontier, the Vulgar army, they decapitate View Party dismantled the batteries placed at the three the three most important strategical points, and barred the doors of every house in their capital. They then invited in the officials of the bakufu, decapitated Masuda, Fukubara, and Kunishi, as well as thirteen other prisoners, and delivered up their heads as an atonement for their offences.

Owari having received the report of the bakufu Sentence on officials, proceeded to pronounce sentence on the five seven exiled kugés. kugés remaining out of the seven who had originally taken refuge in Chôshiu. Of the other two, one had died there, whilst another had removed to a neighbouring province.* The five were placed in the

* This was Sawa Nobuyoshi. He died on the 27th of September, 1873, just as he was starting for St. Petersburg, where he had been appointed Japanese Envoy.

He was the representative of one of the most ancient families

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Army returns to ôzaka.

custody of Satsuma, Chikuzen, and Higo, and they were forced to give guarantees of sincere contrition, for the satisfaction of the bakufu. In the month of February, 1865, the army was withdrawn to Ôzaka, and rumours became current that, as the expedition against Chôshiu was over, the shôgun would shortly proceed in person to that city, in order to determine the punishment of the daimios of the rebellious clan.

Troubles in Chôshiu. But matters in Chôshiu were still by no means settled. In the same month of February, a certain Takasugi Shinsaku took up arms in the territory of the clan. When the Vulgar View Party originally placed the three karôs in confinement, they also tried to arrest Takasugi, who escaped by a miracle, and fled to Chikuzen. When he heard of the decapitation of the karôs and other members of his party, his indignation was extreme. He returned to Shimonoséki

in Japan, and claimed descent from Shôtoku Taishi, a prince who was most instrumental in the introduction of Buddhism into Japan. He was born in 1836. After accompanying the other six nobles to Chôshiu, he headed an unsuccessful insurrection against the government of the shôgun in the province of Having returned to Chôshiu, he passed over into Shikoku, and managed to elude the vigilance of the emissaries of the shôgun. He returned from exile in 1868, was shortly afterwards appointed Governor of Nagasaki, and in 1870 became Minister for Foreign Affairs, which post he held till August, 1871. His learning, though perhaps not profound, was exceeded by that of but few of his countrymen, particularly in the department of history and antiquities. He possessed varied accomplishments, was an artist, and shone particularly in conversation. His manners, feelings, and tastes were eminently those of a gentleman, and his uniform courtesy and kindly disposition will long be remembered by all who came in contact with him either officially or privately.—E. S.

To this description I give my cordial assent, from personal experience.

with the intention of ousting the Vulgar View Party, and of restoring the previous state of things, and he despatched messengers to all parts to summon troops to his aid. According to the Kinsé Shiriaku, from which I am now quoting, so far back as 1863, when the house of Môri began to plan the expulsion of the foreigners, Takasugi had arrived at the con-Takasugi clusion that the luxurious samurai class was of no had practical value in the field, and he had obtained per- kiheitai in 1863. mission from the authorities of the han to organize troops on a new system. This consisted in breaking through the prejudice which existed in favour of birth, in selecting strong able-bodied men from the common people as well as from the samurai class, and in fixing at a high rate the pay of the battalions which he thus formed. The strictest discipline was enforced, and even the most ruffianly vagabonds willingly obeyed him. These were the kiheitai, or "irregular troops," * already mentioned. Many rônins from various clans who were then in Chôshiu joined the kiheitai. When Takasugi fled to Chikuzen, they dispersed into hiding, but upon intelligence of his proclamation, five hundred men came flocking Five hundred men to join him. Takasugi then attacked the government offices at Shimonoséki, seized all the ammunition he could find, and ordered the rich merchants of the town to supply him with money. Having collected a large quantity of provisions and arms, he next prepared to attack the Castle of Hagi at the head of his troops. The Vulgar View Party were terribly alarmed, reported the outbreak of the insurrection to the bakufu, and carrying the prince and his son into

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the castle, sent orders throughout the two provinces (Nagato and Suwô) for the speedy chastisement of the rebels, as Takasugi's party had, of course, become from attacking the party who had possession of the prince. The common people were also forbidden to sell food or clothing to the irregular troops, but the two sides coming to blows, the Vulgar View Party suffered a severe defeat, and after three days' fighting were compelled to retreat and defend the Castle of Hagi. There they were immediately surrounded by the victorious irregulars, when peace was arranged through the medium of a third party. and his friends decapitated the chiefs of the Vulgar View Party, and pilloried them in his camp. this moment dissension ceased, and the whole clan worked for one common object. Takasugi's party carried off the prince and his son to Yamaguchi.

He defeats the Vulgar View Party.

Dissension ceases in the clan.

> Having thus far been successful, Takasugi and his friends took counsel. It was evident that the objects aimed at by the bakufu in attempting to punish the clan would not be satisfied by the execution of the three karôs; and, besides, the Government were certain to recommence hostile operations as soon as they became acquainted with the recent proceedings. only course left for Takasugi's party was to make a determined resistance, and, if necessary, by laying down their own lives to soothe the souls of those who had preceded them in death. These ideas being communicated to their followers were received with universal enthusiasm.

Satsuma draws near to Chôshiu, and treats

It will be recollected that at the fight in Kiôto the Satsuma men were particularly instrumental in oners well the defeat of those of Chôshiu. The former now began to regret the course they had taken on that

occasion. The wiser among them reflected that it was a bad policy for the Japanese to wrangle and fight among themselves, and that it would be better for the government of the country to be conducted from one centre, and for the nation to be united in defence of the empire.* ,The Chôshiu prisoners were therefore treated by Satsuma with great kindness, and were sent back with presents to their country.

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Amongst the leading spirits in Satsuma was Saigô Saigô Kichinoské Kichinoské. He sent a secret messenger to Chôshiu, effects an to negotiate a common understanding between the two understanding between the two There was much discussion on the subject, clans. some thinking that if, when their existence was hanging by a hair, they were to enter into relations with another clan, posterity would condemn them as cowards. Other counsels however prevailed, and the enmity between Satsuma and Chôshiu ceased.

Saigô, says the Kinsé Shiriaku, spent the time His previous life. between 1854 and 1859 in Kiôto and Ôzaka. Being much dissatisfied with the course things were taking, and possessing definite views of his own, he gradually formed a party, but when Ii Kamon no Kami came into power as regent, he returned to his native province. During his residence in Kiôto he had become intimate with a bonze named Gasshô, who was Intimacy arrested in 1858,† but made his escape, and fleeing Gasshô. to Satsuma, found refuge in Saigô's house. explained to the latter the state of things at the capital, and the arbitrary measures of Ii Kamon no Kami, he said, "Seeing that matters have come to

^{*} Here we perceive the idea of a return to the ancient regime, the monarchical system, rather than a mere change of dynasty in the shôgunate.

[†] Probably by order of the regent.

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this pass, and that we shall all be killed, rather than die at the hand of some traitor, it is better to jump into the sea, and make an end of ourselves."

Their attempt at drowning.

Saigô agreeing, they went secretly by night, and threw themselves into the sea. Fortunately it was a moonlight night, and a boat was just passing the spot. The boatmen, seeing what had occurred, rescued them, and found them both to be perfectly Saigô was recalled to life with great difficulty, but Gasshô was already déad.

Saigô recalled to life.

Exiled for a time to ôshima.

Favourite with Satsuma samurai

Satsuma authorities heard of this, they feared the comments of the bakufu, and exiled Saigô to Ôshima, a neighbouring island, whither he had already been twice banished. Afterwards, he was allowed by special favour to return to his home, and in 1865 he appears to have had a great share in the direction of affairs in Satsuma. Indeed, he has always been a favourite with the samurai of the clan, and yet, though constantly mixed up with politics, he is at heart fonder of the chase, and still prefers, gun in hand, a day's shooting on his native hills to the sedentary life of an official in the Eastern capital.

The secret understanding between Satsuma and Chôshiu was still unknown to the bakufu, and the shôgun had again proclaimed his intention of chastising the latter clan, but there were not wanting those who advocated a different policy.

Arrival of shôgun in Kiốto and Emperor.

However, in the month of July the shôgun audience of started from Yedo by land, and had an audience of the Mikado on the day following his arrival in Kiôto. The march of the troops of the vassal daimios was much impeded by the swollen condition of the rivers, and the post towns were crowded with soldiers, the last of whom only reached Ozaka fifty-three days

after his Highness. Four out of the five ministers generally composing his chief council accompanied him on this occasion, and their absence, together with panied by four of the the Ruler, was naturally productive of inconvenience to the foreign Representatives.

1865. Accom=

CHAPTER IV.

1865.

Proposition to remit two-thirds of Shimonoséki Indemnity in return for certain concessions.—The four Representatives proceed to Ôzaka.—Interviews with various Bakufu officials.—Difficulty to obtain Imperial sanction to Treaties and to opening of Hiôgo and Ôzaka.—Ten days' delay.—Dismissal of two of Rôjiu by Emperor.—Sanction to Treaties ultimately obtained on condition that Hiôgo shall never be opened.—Account in Kinsé Shiriaku.—Refusal of Shôgun's offer to resign.

Proposition to remit two-thirds of Shimonoséki indemnity in return for certain concessions.

In the month of October Sir Harry Parkes, having been instructed that her Majesty's Government were willing that two-thirds of the Shimonoséki indemnity should be remitted in return for the prompt opening of the port of Hiôgo and the city of Ôzaka, the ratification of the treaties by the Mikado, and the regularization of the tariff on a basis of five per cent., found that his colleagues of France, Holland, and the United States now all concurred in such an arrangement. As the shôgun and most of his chief council were still at Ôzaka, it was agreed by the Representatives that it would be a politic step to proceed to that city, in order to discuss the matters in question with the majority of the rôjiu. "And the appearance of a

fleet in those waters could hardly fail," Sir Harry Parkes remarked, "to exercise a beneficial effect both on the daimios who surrounded the court at Kiôto, and who had had little opportunity of satisfying themselves of the power of the foreigners, and also on the people generally in the vicinity, whom it would be well to accustom somewhat to the sight of foreign visitors."

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The squadron, consisting of five English vessels, The four Representatives protected to Ozaka. 1st of November, and arrived off Hiôgo on the 4th, with the four Representatives, the United States' Chargé d'Affaires being on board one of Her Majesty's ships. The Representatives found no difficulty in opening communication with the rôjiu at Ôzaka. "They had heard," writes Sir H. Parkes on the 14th of November, off Hiôgo, on board the "Princess Royal," carrying the flag of Vice-Admiral King, "of our intended visit, and were quite prepared to admit our right of access to them. Some delay has been occasioned by the absence at Kiôto, at the time of our arrival, of the Tycoon and two of their number, and the distance of this anchorage from Ôzaka, and several days of unfavourable weather, had unavoidably interfered with the transaction of business. During the ten days that have elapsed since our arrival, our officers have visited Ôzaka on three occasions, to make arrangements for conferences between the foreign Representatives and the Japanese ministers, and two important interviews have taken place at this anchorage, the latter preferring to visit the Representatives on board their vessels to receiving them on shore either at Hiôgo or Ôzaka."

The first of these interviews took place on the VOL. II.

CHAP. IV. 1865. Interview with various bakufu officials.

11th; Abé Bungo no Kami, one of the rôjiu, and two other officials, being first received on board the English flagship by the Representatives of Great Britain, the United States, and Holland, and subsequently by the Minister of France on board the French frigate. The discussion in both cases is said to have been substantially the same; the account of it which follows is taken from Sir Harry Parkes's despatch.

Difficulty to obtain treaties.

Abé stated that the shôgun had made but little Imperial sanction to advance during the preceding twelve months towards obtaining the sanction of the Mikado to the treaties, It will be remembered that in October, 1864 (see vol. i. p. 459), the ministers had assured the Representatives that they would use every effort to obtain the Emperor's ratification, and that Sir R. Alcock and the others had addressed a letter to the "Tycoon" on the subject.

As to opening of Hiôgo and Ôzaka.

Abé also said that, in the opinion of the shôgun, the opposition to foreign intercourse was still too strong to allow of his giving fresh opportunities for its extension by opening Hiôgo and Ôzaka. He admitted, however, that progress had been made conciliation of adverse opinions, that the hostile daimios had abandoned their advocacy of active opposition, and that if the Mikado's approval of these treaties were once obtained, all obstructions to foreign intercourse would disappear.

Sir H. Parkes observed, in reply, that whether this sanction was given or withheld, the scrupulous fulfilment of the treaties would be insisted upon; and also that, as the shôgun's government had omitted to carry out the London agreement of 1862, in not removing illegal restrictions on our trade, Her

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Majesty's Government had the right to withdraw the concessions then made, which were conditional on the removal of these restrictions, and were granted in order to lessen the shôgun's difficulty in controlling hostility now known to be disappearing. If, therefore, they saw fit to do so, her Majesty's Government could at any time insist upon the opening of Hiôgo, and all the other places named in the agreement, wholly irrespective of the offer they now made to accept that port and Ozaka as part compensation for the remission of the indemnity. The treaty Powers, too, would form their judgment of the shôgun's real position in the government of Japan, and of his disposition towards foreigners, by his acts, rather than by the profession of his ministers, and he had to prove himself equal to the discharge of all the obligations of the treaties if he wished to be regarded as the Ruler of Japan.

Abé now demanded an adjournment of the con-Referred to shôgun. ference till the following day, in order to consider the weighty arguments which had been brought forward. Next day, however, he sent to say that the gravity of the questions rendered it necessary for him to represent what had passed to the shôgun and his colleagues, and that, after attending a council, he would again meet the Representatives on the 14th instant.

On that day Tachibara Idzumo no Kami, a Request for delay. vice-minister, and member of the Second Council, together with another official, came down from Ôzaka, being sent, as they stated, in place of Abé, who was reported to be ill. The council had been held, and the vice-minister made some remarkable avowals as to the shôgun's anomalous position in

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regard to foreign relations, and the decided course that it would be necessary for him to adopt with the Mikado's court. He said that the shôgun was now convinced that his Majesty's sanction to the treaties had become indispensable, not only with a view to the security of foreign relations, but also to the existence of his own government; that this approval of his past policy, and a formal act on the part of the Emperor investing him with the complete control of foreign affairs, was necessary to enable him to overcome the opposition of the daimios, and to give full effect to the treaties he had concluded; that, though it was true the shôgun once held the treaty-making power, he could not be said to retain it if the present position of affairs continued, and that, until he had arrived at a satisfactory understanding with the Emperor, it was not in his competence to make any further advance towards meeting the wishes of the foreign Representatives in respect to the opening of Hiôgo or other ports. The latter were therefore requested to extend their stay to fifteen days from the 14th.

Sir H. Parkes distinctly pointed out to the vice-minister that whatever differences might have arisen between the shôgun and the Mikado, these did not affect the force or validity of the treaties, and that the foreign Powers would hold the government of Japan, in whomsoever it might be vested, responsible for the scrupulous fulfilment of every engagement contained in those treaties. At the same time, he added, the Representatives cordially wished the shôgun success in the course he proposed to take with the Mikado. Still they could not agree to wait an indefinite time for the attainment of a

result which concerned the shôgun more than themselves, and they would probably not consent to Ten days remain more than ten days longer.

granted.

That the arguments of the Representatives, and their presence at no great distance from the Emperor's capital with a naval force, had made a deep impression on the bakufu, seems clear, and the result was that the shôgun and his ministers determined to Shôgun and urge upon his Majesty, at Kiôto, the necessity of no determine longer withholding his sanction to the treaties. of course, was the great point.

This, Emperor necessity of sanctioning treaties.

On the night of the 19th a report reached Hiôgo that affairs had taken an unfavourable turn at Kiôto, and that two of the rôjiu and principal supporters of a favourable policy towards foreigners, the abovementioned Abé and Matsumai Idzu no Kami, had Dismissal been dismissed from office. This was confirmed by the rôjiu by Emperor. certain officials on the 21st, who stated that the dismissals had been made by order of the Emperor, and that the two ministers had also been deprived of their rank; that this was a serious innovation on all previous practice, as hitherto it had been only by the act of the shôgun himself that his ministers had been appointed or displaced; that "the mistake" would doubtless be rectified; but that, in the mean time, more pressing matters engaged the shôgun's attention. He had already marched, the day before, with shôgun a body of troops, to Fushimi, where he expected to at Fushimi. meet the kuambaku (admitted to be of superior rank to himself) and Hitotsubashi. He trusted to secure the support of both these personages in a final attempt to persuade the Mikado of the necessity of giving his consent to the treaties; and, if unsuccessful, his return to Yedo, which involved the abandon-

ment of the Chôshiu expedition, would then be reconsidered.

Hitotsübashi was on this occasion represented as a man of considerable influence at Kiôto and Yedo, but as having hitherto avoided any overt connection either with the shôgun's side of politics, or with the faction opposed to him. We have seen what a leading part he had been taking in politics, and that he held the office of the shôgun's guardian. Subsequent information points to his being at this time opposed to the opening of Hiôgo, and to the dismissal of the two members of the rôjiu, who were in favour of it, being due to his influence.

Supposed to be due to Hitotsŭbashi's influence.

A good deal of confidential conversation followed, in which the difficulties of the shôgun's position were described, and rightly attributed, to a great extent at least, to the desire which the daimios had long entertained of reducing his power over their own class. The intercourse allowed by him with foreign Powers had given them an opportunity of charging him with a departure from the fundamental policy of the country, and with an unconstitutional exercise of the governing power derived by him from the Emperor.

Identic note to shôgun. The Representatives now thought it advisable to address an identic note direct to the shôgun, again urging the necessity of attention to their proposals, and of union, based on the observance of treaties, being preserved between him and the Emperor in respect to foreign relations. The notes were despatched on the morning of the 22nd, and were delivered early on the following day to the shôgun at Kiôto.

On the 24th, the last of the ten days fixed as a

limit by the Representatives for their stay, they were informed that the Emperor had given his sanction to The steps taken were related the treaties. follows:--

Emperor's sanction to treaties obtained.

Steps taken.

Hitotsübashi, the ex-Prince of Owari, and Ogasa-Iki (formerly Dzushô) no Kami were the intermediaries. They were commissioned to declare that if the Emperor continued to withhold his sanction to the treaties, and thus countenance their infringement, the shôgun would abdicate and leave the Emperor's advisers to meet the grave complications which must then immediately arise. The shôgun was prepared to protect the Emperor against any attempt to fetter the exercise of his own judgment, but it had become necessary that this judgment should be decidedly pronounced, and, if in favour of the foreign policy indicated by the shôgun, that it should be made known by decree, and the execution of the treaties confided to the latter's charge.

The Emperor is said to have evinced considerable hesitation in taking a decided step. Eventually, however, both he and the kuambaku declared themselves in favour of the treaties, but the moment this decision became known in Kiôto, the daimios' councillors and the kugés raised such a serious tumult that his Majesty withdrew his approval.

It was then arranged that Hitotsübashi, Ogasawara, Resistance and the kuambaku should call together the leading and karôs. karôs, and endeavour by argument to convince them of the dangerous tendencies of their conduct. Thirtyfive responded to the summons, and the meeting which ensued was protracted throughout the night of the 22nd. At the same time, and while these discussions were being held, the shôgun moved up with his

CHAP. IV. 1865. Return of shôgun to Kiôto. force from Fushimi to Kiôto. The next morning the karôs determined to offer no further resistance, order was restored, and the following decree was issued by the Emperor to the shôgun, and published accordingly:—

[Translation.]

Imperial decree.

"The Imperial consent is given to the treaties, and you will therefore undertake the necessary arrangements in connection therewith."

The opening of Hiôgo and Ôzaka was stated to be impossible at that moment, owing to the inability of the bakufu to insure the safety of foreigners in that port and city until calmer views were entertained at Kiôto, and agitation on the subject of foreign intercourse had ceased. It was at the same time promised that the remaining instalments of the Shimonoséki indemnity should be punctually discharged, and that negotiations for the revision of the tariff on the general basis of five per cent., to which the government were favourable, should be carried on at Yedo.

As it is always interesting to peruse native documents in respect to Japanese matters, in order to obtain some insight into the habits of thought of the people and their manner of dealing with questions, I here insert what Sir H. Parkes gives as the address of the shôgun to the Emperor, urging the ratification of the treaties. Its authenticity was well vouched for.

[Translation.]

Address of shôgun to Emperor.

"Your servant, Iyémochi, in considering with the highest respect the state of affairs, observes that of late a process of change has been going on; we have

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formed alliances, and have adopted the practice of mutually enriching and strengthening both ourselves and others by the exchange of what we produce for what they produce. I am humbly of opinion that this is a natural and unavoidable law.

"For the Empire alone to abstain from foreign intercourse appears to denote a degenerate and timid spirit, which is injurious to the maintenance of our national power and dignity. A few years ago a Treaty of peace and amity was concluded with the American Envoy at Shimoda, and when, after due deliberation, I informed your Majesty, you were pleased to accord your consent. Thereafter we went on changing the old fashions proper to a country shut up in itself, and were gradually laying a foundation for wealth and strength, when your Majesty gave orders for the breaking off of foreign relations. It was my heart's desire to carry out your will to the utmost of my power, but your Majesty further ordered that the expulsion should not be attempted without full and complete preparations. Conscious that it would be impossible to carry out the law of Punishment and Warning without first perfecting a scheme for the enrichment and strengthening of the nation, I believed that our first and most important duty was to select those points in which the foreigners most excelled, to provide ships and guns with the profits of trade, and to learn foreign arts according to their methods.

"I had thus been doing my best, when the affairs of Chôshiu occurred, and I was obliged to advance to my castle in Ôzaka. But most unexpectedly there have arrived at Hiôgo foreign ships, demanding the revision of Treaties and the consent of your

CHAP. IV. 1865. Majesty thereto, and they declare that if I, Iyémochi, cannot manage to get these things done they will themselves go to your Majesty's palace and demand it of you personally. I have exhausted every argument, and held conferences, but they refuse to be satisfied.

"To commence hostilities when we are unprepared for them would be to render victory uncertain. And even supposing that we managed to secure the victory for a time, a country like ours, surrounded by the ocean on every quarter, would be continually exposed to the danger of attack and depredation, while a lasting state of war would be accompanied by infinite misery to the nation. Nothing could exceed the cruelty and hard-heartedness (which could produce such a state), and it is most terrible to contemplate. Setting aside the chance of destruction to my own family, it is of the greatest importance to your Majesty. Truly it is not also contrary to that benevolent kindness which induces your Majesty to look after the welfare of your people; and as I am also thereby rendered unable to fulfil the duties of my office, I beg your Majesty to take these things into your most serious consideration. Do not be led away by the voices of the multitude, but trust to your own wisdom to decide. With regard to the revision of the Treaties, I beg of your Majesty to abandon all falseness, and, holding fast to the truth, to give me distinctly your Imperial permission to settle matters by conference (with the foreign Ministers). If your Majesty will do so, I will exert myself to the uttermost, on the one hand to regulate foreign relations, on the other to inflict punishment on Chôshiu. secure your Majesty's safety, and give tranquillity to

the people; and it is my heart's desire thus to carry out my ancestors' intentions.

"However heroic may be the spirit of the nation, if civil dissensions and foreign wars crowd upon us, and the whole force of the western nations be directed against us, your sacred person would be endangered, and the nation be plunged into the depths of misery. It is a most lamentable and mournful thing to contemplate.

"Intrusted with the government of the country and the happiness of the people, I should be then unable to execute the orders issued to me by your Majesty in virtue of my office, and, therefore, as I have previously said in my letter, I most earnestly beg that your Majesty will give your consent, that the continuance of the Imperial throne may be secured thereby, and the happiness of the nation. It is in truth beyond the power of my tears and supplications.

"I am much alarmed for your Majesty lest the foreigners should advance to your palace, and therefore have exhausted my powers in conferences, and have prevailed on them to wait until the 24th at Hiôgo. I beg, therefore, for your Majesty's decision as speedily as possible.

"I have the honour to communicate this."

The reports of the proceedings of the Representa-Approval of tives were received with much satisfaction by her Parkes's proceed-Majesty's Government, especially as the results were effected without menace or force, and the Earl of Clarendon, who had now succeeded Earl Russell at the Foreign Office, conveyed to Sir H. Parkes the entire approval by the Queen of his conduct in this negotiation, at the same time stating that he himself could

CHAP. IV. 1865. not speak too highly of the British Envoy's own share in the transactions.

Let us now see how the Kinsé Shiriaku tells the story.

Account from Kinsé Shiriaku.

"In the month of November, the foreign Representatives resident at Yokohama prepared to proceed to Ôzaka with the object of presenting a request to the shôgun. The ministers, who were alarmed at the prospect of their appearing in the vicinity of the Imperial capital, endeavoured to dissuade them, but the Representatives declined to listen, and finally arrived at Hiôgo, whence they forwarded their letter. Hitotsübashi Chiunagon, Aidzu Chiujô, the Minister Ogasawara Jijiu,* and others, thereupon addressed a joint memorial to the Court, saying: 'The foreigners have come up to the home provinces to request his Majesty to signify anew his consent to the Treaties, and to demand the opening of Hiôgo. They say that they have come to arrange these matters directly with your Majesty, as the bakufu is unable to settle them. Your servants will do all in their power to create delays, but unless the Imperial consent to the treaties is given, the foreigners will not quit the Inland Sea. If we were lightly to use force against them, we might be victorious for the moment, but a tiny piece of territory like this could not long withstand the armies of the universe. We are not so much concerned for the preservation of the bakufu as for the safety

^{*} This word may be perhaps best translated by "Lord in waiting." The Momoshiki Kusa says: "The Jijiu were eight in number. They served by the side of the Tennô. Their function was carefully to arrange whatever he might have forgotten, and to make good his deficiencies. Sometimes it was their duty to remonstrate with him."—E. S.

of the throne. If the result be what we must anticipate, your people will be plunged into the depths of misery, your Majesty's sacred wish of protecting and succouring your subjects will be rendered unavailing, and the bakufu be unable to fulfil its mission, which is to govern the country. Your servants cannot find heart to obey your Majesty's order to break off foreign relations, and humbly pray that your Majesty, deigning to take these things into consideration, will at once give your consent.'

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"The Court debated over the matter, and, after having carefully weighed the political state, sent the two Tensô, Asukai and Nonomiya, to communicate his Majesty's consent to the bakufu on the 1st of December, ordering it also to revise the hitherto existing treaties. At the same time, the opening of the port of Hiôgo was refused. It was said that this last order was given because the Satsuma clan had shortly before addressed a memorial to the Court, remonstrating against the opening of Hiôgo. From the time when the bakufu first concluded treaties in 1855, the whole country had been constantly discussing the matter with great eagerness, but the Imperial consent was now obtained for the first time."

The real fact was, as was afterwards discovered, Imperial sanction that the Emperor's ratification of the treaties was only obtained on obtained upon the shôgun promising that the port of that Hiôgo should never be opened to foreigners. It was opened.

too near Kiôto, and I believe there is not a doubt that the sovereign then upon the throne was personally extremely averse to the foreigners, and, as I have heard it expressed by one very high in office, would rather that the whole of Japan had been burnt to a

cinder than that it should be opened to the outer CHAP. IV. barbarians. 1865.

Shôgun's request to refused.

About this time, according to the Kinsé Shiriaku, resign office the shôgun, who felt severely the weight of domestic and foreign affairs, sent in a memorial to the Mikado, praying for leave to resign his office to Hitotsubashi, on the ground of ill-health. The Court expressed great sympathy for him, but refused his request, and urged him to settle the Chôshiu affair without delay.

CHAPTER V.

1866.

Agreement as to Partition of Shimonoséki Indemnity.

THE manner in which it was finally settled that CHAP. the Shimonoséki indemnity should be divided between Shimothe four Powers is contained in a despatch from the noséki indemnity.

Earl of Clarendon to Earl Cowley, dated January 1, as to partition. 1866.

It will be remembered that the separate claim of France* was proposed to be taken at 140,000 dollars, which was the amount agreed upon between the French Government and certain Japanese Envoys at Paris, in June, 1864, as compensation for injuries sustained by French subjects, and the separate claims of Holland and of the United States for damages done to their respective shipping in the Straits of Shimonoséki, before the naval operations were undertaken, were proposed to be taken severally at the same amount. There would, therefore, be an aggregate sum of 420,000 dollars as a first charge on the whole indemnity, payable rateably out of the several instalments when received.

^{*} See vol. i. p. 478.

CHAP. V. 1866.

Her Majesty's Government offered no objection to this arrangement. One-sixth of the indemnity, or 500,000 dollars, having been paid, one-sixth of the entire special compensation due to France, Holland, and the United States, namely 70,000 dollars, had to be deducted in the first instance from the whole sum, so that the balance of 430,000 dollars remained for distribution among the four Powers.

The Representatives in Japan did not attempt to lay down any rule by which this balance should be divided; but Sir R. Alcock had sent home a return of the naval and military forces of the four Powers employed within the waters and territories of Japan, on sea or on shore, at the time of the joint operations against Shimonoséki. These were—

					Men.
English				• • •	5,156
-French			• • •	• • •	1,225
Dutch		• • •	• • •	• • •	951
American	• • •		• • •	• • •	258

It seemed just to consider that the forces left to guard the foreign settlements at Yokohama and elsewhere, as well as the ships employed in keeping up communication with the squadron engaged in active operations at Shimonoséki, all contributed, though in different ways, to the success of those operations, and were, therefore, all entitled to be reckoned in estimating the amount of material means contributed by the several Powers.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys suggested that the division of the balance of the indemnity should be made according to the proportion the forces of each Power in Japan bore to the aggregate force of the four, a principle very much to the advantage of England.

The United States' Government, however, were understood to contend that, as the general co-operation of all the four Powers must necessarily have had great and equal weight, if not in the actual operations, at all events in the measures which preceded them, and afterwards in turning the result to good account, it would be fair to look upon the several Powers as contributing in an equal degree to the success of the common cause, and therefore as entitled to share equally in the indemnity which the Japanese Government agreed to pay.

Majesty's Government," writes Clarendon, "though it militates against them pecuniarily, are not indisposed to concur in this view of the question. It cannot be doubted that the joint action of all the Powers collectively afforded, and still affords, the surest means of producing a most salutary effect on the Japanese Government and people, who would be only too glad to detect, and would certainly take advantage of, the slightest indication of the existence of a separate interest among them.

"The American principle of partition will secure after payto France a larger share of the indemnity than she separate would obtain under the principle of distribution suggested by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, while Holland and tween the four
the United States would be benefited by it in a still greater degree. England alone would be required to make a sacrifice; but her Majesty's Government will consent to do so, if only to mark their conviction of the community of interest which the four Powers have in Japan, and as an evidence of their hope and desire that that community of interest will be the principle by which the conduct of all of them will invariably be regulated in that distant and peculiar country."

CHAP. V. 1866.

And thus it was settled.

It may as well be stated at once that two further instalments of 500,000 dollars each were paid by the Yedo Government; that in April, 1866, they again applied for a postponement of the time for payment of the remaining three instalments, or 1,500,000 dollars, being the sum which remained due until a very recent date.

CHAPTER VI.

1866.

Operations against Chôshiu.—Bakufu Troops worsted.—Death of Shôgun Iyémochi. — Hitotsübashi becomes head of the Tokugawa.—End of the War with Chôshiu.

In the first months of 1866 little was done by the bakufu in the way of operations against Chôshiu. Troops The three bodies of drilled troops and detachments of despatched to Geishiu. various clans were despatched to the western frontier of the province of Geishiu (Aki), and remained in their quarters until the beginning of spring. Satsuma soldiers joined the loyal forces, the clan having sent in a memorial, protesting against the Memorial of injustice of the war, and declining to furnish its against Chôshiu quota.

The shôgun now issued an order to the house of Terms to Chôshiu. Môri, saying, "Although you have shown evidence of a submissive temper in inflicting capital punishment on your karôs and their advisers, and in confining yourselves within the walls of a monastery, you must be held responsible for having lost the art of ruling Permission has been therefore your retainers. obtained from 'the Imperial Court to inflict three additional penalties on you, namely, the forfeiture of 100,000 koku of land, the perpetual confinement of

CHAP. the chief of the clan and his son, leaving the succession to your eldest grandson, and the extinction of the families of the three karôs."

Refused.

A day was fixed for the answer to be sent-in. The indignation of the clan knew no bounds. It was resolved to await the attack of the bakufu's troops, and to try the issue by arms, and the answer was purposely delayed in order to give more time for preparations.

Success of Chôshiu.

After a month had passed without a reply, the commander of the bakufu troops applied to the Court, and obtained leave to attack the rebellious clan. The fighting commenced in July, and the Chôshiu troops had not only to oppose those of the bakufu on the main island, but had also to contend in Kiushiu. against men of Kokura and of Higo. On the whole their arms were successful, and the Kinsé Shiriaku comments on their success as follows:—"In this campaign the eastern troops were armour and surcoats, and their weapons were swords and spears, while the Chôshiu men, clad in light, short-sleeved garments, and dispensing with their swords, were chiefly armed with muskets. Their drill, too, was excellent. In fact, the Chôshiu clan had gained a great deal of experience in the year 1863, which they had turned to account in remodelling their military system."

The bakufu troops were never able to gain a footing in the territory of the clan, and in the month of September, after a serious defeat, were obliged to retire to Hiroshima, in Geishiu, whither they were pursued by their enemy.

Illness of Iyemochi.

Some time previously it was announced that the Shôgun Iyémochi had fallen ill, and a messenger was

sent from the Emperor to Ozaka to inquire after his health.

CHAP. VI. 1866.

The Court then ordered Hitotsübashi to take the direction of the forces, and he was on the point of setting off for Geishiu when the news of the abovementioned defeat arrived. The clans which had joined the expedition at once withdrew their troops, and the whole country was in a state of alarm, not knowing what would come next. "The shôgun," it is written, "was agitated by constant anxiety; on His death. the 19th of September he died at Ôzaka."

Thus it has been seen that several shôguns died at the period of some crisis. I heard it stated by a high functionary, now no longer alive, that Iyémochi was seized with vomiting, so violent that he could not recover his strength; that his death was lingering and painful, and there were even ugly rumours abroad that it was not due to natural causes.

But be that as it may, his removal from the scene where he had played no prominent part made way for Hitotsübashi, his former rival, who, according to the Kinsé Shiriaku, now began to regret his previous willingness to obey the Emperor's will, and sent in a memorial blaming himself, and hitotsüdeshi's declining to proceed to Geishiu. He also obtained memorial Is permitted to summon to Kiôto certain nobles who had summon certain supported him, in order to deliberate on the state of nobles to affairs.

In the month of October the Court conferred Is made head of the succession to the headship of the Tokugawa, and known family upon Hitotsübashi, so that he was thenceforth as Yoshinobu or Kéiki. no longer known by that name (except among foreigners). He became Tokugawa Yoshinobu, or Kéiki, which, as already explained (vol. i. p. 120),

was the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese character representing his name.

Cessation of hostilities against Choshiu.

The same month saw the civil war with Chôshiu virtually at an end. First, a reconciliation was effected with the Kokura clan, by the mediation of Satsuma and Higo, and then Katsŭ Awa no Kami * was sent by the bakufu to offer terms to the Chôshiu troops, who, after some hesitation, withdrew from before Hiroshima, and returned home "in great triumph." Thus, though there was perhaps no actual peace, hostilities ceased from this period.

During this war the bakufu, according to the native writer, had expended vast sums of money, until its treasuries were almost exhausted, and yet it was unable to have its way with Chôshiu. From this time the great clans neglected to obey the commands of the bakufu, and its power eventually decayed.

The civil war, however, was not the only drain on the Yedo Government. The heavy indemnities exacted by foreign Powers had a large share in impoverishing the treasury.

* Kami was supposed by the first negotiators to signify that the holder was the territorial lord of the province from which he took his name. Kami means simply "chief" (i.e. chief official): the heads of sub-departments or bureaux in the ministry of State under the ancient Mikados were called Kami, and their immediate subordinates suké or "helpers;" the governors and vice-governors of provinces were likewise so styled; below the suké were the jô, divided into daijô and shôjô, who did the work, their chiefs being merely ornamental, and the sakuan or scribes. In process of time these titles became merely honorary, as is the case with the titles of English peers. At present the governor (or rather "prefect") of Kanagawa is called Kanagawa Ken no Kami, and the chief official of the Lighthouse bureau, Tôdai no Kami.—E. S.

CHAPTER VII.

1866.

Conclusion at Yedo of Convention, and revised Tariff.—Articles establishing Bonded Warehouses; to protect Produce in transit; for a Mint; to abolish restrictions on Trade, and allow Japanese to go abroad; for Lights and Buoys.

On the 25th of June * Midzuno Idzumi no Kami, a member of the rôjiu and a minister of foreign affairs, conclusion concluded at Yedo with the Representatives of Great convention, and revised Britain, France, the United States of America, and tariff. Holland, a convention of twelve articles. A revised tariff, attached thereto, was signed by the contracting parties at the same time.

This convention and tariff were subject to revision on the 1st day of July, 1872, and, two years after the signature of the convention, any of the contracting parties, on giving six months' notice to the others, might claim a re-adjustment of the duties on tea and silk on the basis of five per cent. on the average value of these articles, during the three years last preceding.

By Article IV. the Japanese Government under-Article establishing

* Vide Correspondence respecting the Revision of the Japanese Commercial Tariff (Japan, No. 1, 1867). Presented to Parliament, 1867.

CHAP. VII. 1866. took to establish a bonded warehouse system, for the purpose of enabling the foreign merchants to re-export unsaleable goods without the payment of any duty.

To protect produce in transit to open ports.

Article V. was intended to protect all Japanese produce on its way to the markets of the open ports from the payment of transit duties or any other tax, with the exception of such road or navigation tolls as were levied equally upon all native traffic.

To establish a mint.

Article VI. provided for the establishment of a free mint on certain conditions.

To abolish restrictions on trade.

Amongst the other Articles, IX. and X. "may be considered," Sir H. Parkes states, "to embrace the most important stipulations of the convention, as, if faithfully executed, they will enable Japan and her people to share freely in the commerce of the world, to the complete abandonment of their old exclusive policy. The Japanese Government formally declare by these Articles that all the restrictions upon foreign trade described in the London memorandum of the 6th of June, 1862,* are entirely removed, and that all classes of Japanese, whether merchants or daimios, or people in the employment of daimios, have perfect liberty to trade or to hold social intercourse with foreigners at all the open ports without any interference on the part of the Government. also permitted to employ foreign shipping, either in trade with the open ports of Japan or with foreign countries, and under the provisions of a passport system they are allowed to go abroad for purposes of study or trade, and to accept employment on board foreign ships."

Japanese allowed to go abroad.

Sir H. Parkes remarks that, in giving the Japanese

* Vide vol. i. pp. 178, 179.

credit for these timely concessions to the progressive spirit of their countrymen, he was not insensible to the proneness of the Government, in common with other Oriental States, to avoid, when they can do so, the execution of engagements which conflict with a traditional policy. The experience of the following years fully justify the words of her Majesty's Minister. At the same time, there is no doubt that the convention was a great step forwards. In anticipation of it, the ancient edict prohibiting Japanese from leaving their native country had been abolished in the preceding month of May, and that of itself shows the importance of this instrument.

The only other Article I will mention is the XIth, To light and buoy whereby the Government agreed to light and buoy to open the approaches to all the open ports.

CHAP. VII. 1866.

CHAPTER VIII.

1866.

Visit of Sir Harry Parkes, &c., to Kagoshima and Uwajima.

H. Parkes, &c., to Kagoshima.

After the convention of Yedo was signed, Sir H. isit of Sir Parkes, accompanied by Lady Parkes and several members of the Legation, paid a visit to Kagoshima. They embarked on board H.M.S. "Salamis" at Nagasaki, and were accompanied by Admiral King in the "Princess Royal," the corvette "Serpent" being also in company. The three vessels arrived in the bay of Kagoshima on the 26th of July, and four days were spent in the interchange of civilities and hospitality between the Englishmen and their former enemies, the daimio of Satsuma and Shimadzu Saburô. visit was also paid to Uwajima, in the island of Shikoku, and acquaintance made with the ex-prince, one of the few men of the daimio class who took an active part in the intrigues against the bakufu.

To Uwajima.

CHAPTER IX.

1867.

Kéiki becomes Shôgun.—His reluctance to accept office.— Western Clans desire to abolish it and establish Monarchical Government.—Promoters of restoration.—Nobles refuse to obey.—Summoned to Kiôto.—Kéiki invites foreign Representatives to Ôzaka.—Death'of Emperor Kômei.—Succeeded by son Mutsuhito.—Arrival of French Military Mission.— Mission of Messrs. Mitford and Satow to Ozaka.—Interview of M. Roches with Shôgun.

On the 6th of January the Court offered the appointment of shôgun to Kéiki. He is said repeatedly to Kéiki have declined this honour, but the Court insisting upon becomes shôgun. his acceptance, he was compelled at last to give way, and was invested with the office at the Castle of Nijô, in the Capital.

The reluctance of Kéiki to become shôgun is said his reluctto have arisen from the conviction forced upon him accept the office. during his residence in Kiôto that the institution could not, from the altered state of things, be durable in its actual form; that, in fact, when he did give his consent to succeed Iyémochi, it was simply because he felt that the country had reached a great crisis, and could only be saved from many complications and disasters by the establishment of a government pro-

CHAP. IX.

ceeding from a single centre; that he therefore merely accepted the office in order to be in a position to abolish it.

There may well be truth in this, but though Kéiki did judge rightly if he considered that the days of the shôgunate were numbered, there seems little doubt that he cherished hopes of retaining, under another appellation, the power of his predecessors; nay more, it may be that under a new order of things, with the creation of a central government, he thought he might be able, from his enormous revenues and from the number of vassal clans on whose support he counted, to rise to still higher actual power.

His trying position.

But Kéiki found himself in a very trying position. The combination of the western clans against the supremacy of the office which he now held was growing more and more serious, and the chief of the executive felt that, whatever policy he adopted, whether he resigned his office or not, he could but follow in the steps of his predecessor, and make Kiôto his head-quarters. His own capital of Yedo was manifestly far too distant from the Court, which had for the last few years become the centre of so many political intrigues. It was clear that these western clans, now that he was shôgun, must be opposed to him, just as they had been opposed to his predecessor. The experiences of the years since the admission of foreigners had shown that the double government must be abolished, and that, instead of a new dynasty of shôguns, there must be a return to the ancient regime, to the monarchical form of government. present combination of clans had therefore in view, not the substitution of a Satsuma or a Chôshiu

dynasty for that of Tokugawa, but a restoration of CHAP. the descendant of the sun goddess, the divine Mikado, to his ancient rights, which, though dormant for centuries, had never been extinguished.

1867.

Among the most active promoters of this restora- Satsuma and Tosa tion were certain samurai of Satsuma and Tosa, who word moters of will subsequently be found in high positions. were mostly yônin, the men of business who ranked below the karôs, and were not, like them, hereditary councillors.* In the system which I have endeavoured to represent, where in general the daimios and karôs were puppets, the whole clan would naturally be governed by such yônin and other samurai who obtained their influence by natural talent. Most of them were desirous of emerging from their subordinate position, and of changing their function of "wirepullers" for that of principals, with visible rank and power.

Of these influential men, Saigô Kichinoské, Ôkubo Ichizô, together with the karô Komatsŭ Tatéwaki, were from Satsuma, and Gotô Shôjirô from Tosa.

Besides, the war with Chôshiu was virtually over. Secret Satsuma was no longer on bad terms with that war- ing with Choshiu and like clan, and a secret understanding could doubtless banished kugés. be kept up between the above influential men and certain leading members of Chôshiu, such as Kido Jiunichirô and Hirozawa Hiôské, and with some at least of the seven banished kugés, who were glad to assist in the intrigues against the bakufu. Sanjô, I believe, was particularly engaged in this. And of course there was a party among the Court nobles around the sovereign who were favourable to the scheme.

^{*} Vide vol. i., note to p. 74.

1867.
Certain
men of rank
favourable
to restoration refuse
to assemble
at Kiôto.

There were also a few men of rank who took an active part in the combination against the bakufu. Such were Shimadzu Saburô, the ex-Princes of Tosa, Hizen, Echizen, and Uwajima, and Nagaoka Riônoské, brother of the Prince of Higo. They now refused to assemble at Kiôto, and thus marked their disappointment at finding that Kéiki had succeeded in securing his election with similar powers to those exercised by his predecessors, and had therefore virtually excluded the daimios from a deliberative voice in an assembly. These nobles considered that the Court had summoned them to the Capital with the view of giving to them a share in the government, and as this did not appear to be the intention of the new shôgun, they were not inclined to obey the order obtained by his influence.

Emperor's aversion to opening new places to foreigners.

The reigning Emperor, too, from his bitter hatred of the "barbarians," was another factor in the sum of troubles which menaced the new ruler. In less than a year Hiôgo and Ôzaka must be opened to foreign commerce, while at the same time Iyémochi's advisers had obtained the Emperor's ratification of the treaties on the express condition that foreigners should not be permitted to establish themselves so near the capital. Before his elevation to his present office, Kéiki could well be opposed to the opening of Hiôgo, and we have seen that the dismissal in 1865 of two of the rôjiu, who advocated the measure, was put down to his influence.

Something, however, must be done, and in such a posture of affairs Kéiki considered that it would be politic to make advances to the foreign Representatives. Só he decided to invite them to meet him in his Castle of Ôzaka, ostensibly on the occasion of his accession to office, but in reality with the view of

Kéiki invites Representatives to Ôzaka.

proving to them that he held the whole direction of foreign affairs in his hands, and at the same time trusting, as it was said, in the chapter of events, and in his own astuteness, to find out some means of at least staving off the period for opening the port and city above mentioned according to agreement.

1867.

This was the more pressing, as the combined clans on their side, in order to embarrass and weaken the bakufu, were manifesting a desire to favour the extension of foreign intercourse, and were ready to coquet with the Representatives. They certainly felt that the measure in contemplation might bring a number of bakufu officials to Ozaka, and that these functionaries would be apt to interfere in some degree with the pecuniary transactions which bound so many of the daimios to the bankers and wealthy merchants of that commercial city. Still their primary object was to overturn the shôgun. To the attainment of this object all other considerations must give way. Not only did they hope that thereby a portion of the trade, since trade there need be, would fall into their hands, to the detriment of their adversary, but they argued that, from the propinquity of Hiôgo and Ôzaka to Kiôto, the opening of the two former places to foreigners would be a first step-towards promoting direct intercourse between the foreign Representatives and the Court. If those Representatives could Combined be persuaded to enter into direct negotiations with Clans for new treatier. the Emperor, and to make new treaties with his between Majesty, on the plea that the former treaties had Emperor and Representatives. not been concluded with the sovereign, but only with the chief of the executive in Japan, the power of the bakufu, they argued, would be broken for ever.

They were, therefore, generally in favour of the

CHAP. 1867.

opening of the two places in question to foreigners, although not exactly on the same terms as Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodaté, but in such a manner, as they would express it, that the result would be a benefit to all Japan, and not simply a benefit to the selfish interests of the bakufu.

It will be seen that, in the struggle which was now becoming more intense, each side had as usual one object—the possession of the Emperor's person; and, as a means towards attaining this end, each side was desirous to be on friendly terms, for the moment at least, with the foreigners.

Invitation of shôgun accepted.

The Representatives accepted the invitation of the shôgun, but time wore on, and nothing was definitely arranged as to the precise period of the visit. seemed as if Kéiki was playing fast and loose with them.

Meanwhile an event had taken place which materially altered the complexion of affairs.

Death of Emperor Kômei.

Succeeded

The Emperor Kômei was seized with small-pox on the 20th of January, and died of that disease on the 3rd of February, as was given out, but the real date seems to have been the 30th of January. however, is immaterial. He was succeeded by a son, by youthful son Mutsu- then a boy of less than fifteen years old, who, being hito. a minor, was entrusted to the guardianship of a sesshô, or regent (vol. i. p. 17). This is the present Emperor Mutsuhito.*

Improved position of Kéiki.

Now this regent, who was the Sadaijin Nijô Nariaki, and a majority of the kugés who then formed

* Mutsu is the root of mutsumajiki affectionate.

Hito, pronounced shto, here means humane. imina, or name to be avoided, i.e. not mentioned. He is officially the 123rd of the line.

the Court, were the partisans of Kéiki. The death of CHAP. the Emperor had removed one element of the dilemma in which Kéiki was placed, and he found himself at once in a very different position. Instead of there being an Emperor older than himself, with inveterate prejudices against foreigners, it was he who was the older man, and he might well expect to gain much influence over the youthful monarch. He would then only have to deal with the western clans.

1867.

It may be mentioned that in the month of Arrival of French January the French Military Mission, engaged for Military Mission. the shôgun's troops, arrived at Yokohama. At its head was Captain Chanoine, of the Corps Impérial d'Etat Major, an officer who had served on the staff during the operations in China, in 1860. There were, besides, two infantry officers, one cavalry and one artillery officer, the latter being Captain Brunet, whose name will figure somewhat conspicuously further on in this history. The salaries of the mission were on a liberal scale, Captain Chanoine receiving 36,000 francs a year, and the others one-third less, and they were provided with quarters by the bakufu, who also paid for their outfits, passage, &c.

I have said that the period for the meeting of the foreign Representatives with the shôgun was not definitely fixed. Some excuse was always at hand for putting it off. In order to ascertain the reason of this delay, as well as to find out whether the mode of reception would be suitable, and conformable to European customs, and also to learn generally the state of affairs, Sir Harry Parkes despatched Mr. Mitford, Messrs. Mitford and second secretary to the English Legation, and Mr. Satow despatched Satow, now Japanese Secretary, in the month of to Ozaka February to Ôzaka.

CHAP. 1867.

They left Yokohama in H.M.S. "Argus," and

Large

arrived at Hiôgo on the 10th. From there, accompanied by Captain Cardew, of the 9th Regiment, and Lieutenant Thalbitzer, of the Danish Navy, amateurs, they proceeded the following day by land to Ôzaka. They were escorted by a guard Japanese soldiers, and at different points on the road, as well as in the villages, posts of infantry were stationed. As they passed each post, the men composing it joined their train and formed a rear guard, which swelled so considerably that, on their arrival at Ôzaka, the procession numbered not far short of two thousand men.

When they reached the suburbs, they were met by numerous officials on foot, and by a body of infantry, who preceded them to their destination. They were Lodged in a lodged in one of the numerous temples which occupy three streets in the upper part of the city. The whole population along the line of march appear to have turned out to see the foreigners, who, since the annual journeys of the Dutch in former times, were almost the first to visit Ôzaka, and the very first to sojourn there. Each side of the streets through which they passed was lined with a patient orderly crowd, and all the cross streets were crammed with people, eager to catch a glimpse of the strangers. Still, not a derisive shout was raised, not a stone was thrown, not an insult offered, the mass of human beings behaving with the utmost quiet and decorum.

Remain nine days unmolested.

More than this, during the nine days that the party remained they traversed the city in all directions, they visited temples, refreshment-houses, and theatres, and in no one instance were they molested or insulted by the enormous crowds which incessantly followed upon their steps. There, at least, no signs were visible of the hostile population which the CHAP. bakufu were so prone to descant upon. But then it was a mercantile town, where the inhabitants were engaged in peaceable occupations, and where the twosworded men were happily in a small minority.

1867.

The intelligence of the Emperor's death, which Emperor's had reached Messrs. Mitford and Satow at Hiôgo, did stir at Ozaka. not appear to have created any stir at Ôzaka, as they had been led to expect, from its being only thirty miles distant from the capital, and from reports which came to their ears when they touched land. Having fulfilled their mission, they returned to Yokohama. They had made certain arrangements respecting the visit of Sir H. Parkes, the date of which would be somewhat delayed by the death of the Emperor. They had also satisfied themselves, as they have both told me, that the opposition to the bakufu was growing more formidable every month, and that there was a combination in the west determined to push matters to extremes, even if blood were to be spilt.

In the month of March M. Roches, the French Interviews Minister, paid a visit to Ôzaka, and had two inter- with M. Roches with views with the shôgun, who came down from the shôgun. Imperial capital for the purpose. M. Roches described the tone of these interviews as eminently friendly, and he stated that Kéiki had declared himself to be animated with a sincere desire of entering into closer relations with foreign Powers, and that, as a proof of this, he would certainly open Hiôgo at the stipulated The first interview was entirely without ceremony, two of the Japanese Ministers and other subordinate officials taking their seats at the same table. The second was of a more formal character, the French Minister being accompanied by Admiral Roze, whose flag was hoisted on board the "Guerrière."

CHAPTER X.

1867.

Treaty with Russia respecting the Island of Sagalin, or Karafuto.

Sagalin, or Karafuto, Envoys sent to St. Petersburg to settle boundaries.

To the north of Yezo lies the Island of Sagalin, or Karafuto, as it is called by the Japanese. The bakufu were desirous of settling the boundary between what should be Russian and what Japanese territory on this island, and they despatched Envoys to St. Petersburg to negotiate upon this question. But we must first go back a few years to understand what now occurred.

Negotiations in 1862. "In 1862 * Takénoüchi Shimotské no Kami and Matsudaira Iwami no Kami had been previously sent thither † to discuss the same question. They proposed on that occasion to make the fiftieth parallel of latitude a boundary, because it marked the division between the tribes called Aino and Smelenkur. Our officers were to proceed thither to govern the natives, and a map was prepared in which the respective territories were coloured red and green, the fiftieth parallel of latitude lying between the two. The

* Kinsé Shiriaku.

† To St. Petersburg.

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Russians replied: 'On what grounds do you call this your territory? If we were to consult an impartial person, he would decide that the island belonged to Manchuria. Besides, no Ainos are to be found north of the fortieth parallel, and you have quite disregarded the position of the tribes in your unjustifiable desire to take the fiftieth parallel as a boundary. How is it possible for us to accept this? There is nothing in this island by which a boundary can be properly laid down, and under these circumstances, if you insist upon laying one down, it will give rise to complications between the two Powers. We are naturally averse to having our frontier undefined, but we are equally averse to defining it on insufficient grounds, or on such as do not suit our convenience. Let us therefore leave the matter as it is for the present, permitting our respective subjects to occupy the island in common, as was provisionally determined by the treaty concluded with Japan at Shimoda. At some future day, when we have both examined the localities, we can confer again. But, if you still find it absolutely necessary to settle something, we will take Aniwa Bay* as our boundary.' Although Takénoüchi and his colleague perceived from the nature of their arguments that their design was to seize the whole island, they were unable to confute the reasoning of the Russians, because they were insufficiently acquainted with the nature of the locality.

"An engagement having been entered into in Engagement to writing, to the effect that the discussion should be renew discussion after a cussion after a constant of the contract of the contrac renewed on the basis of an examination of the after exalocalities, the Envoys returned to Japan, reported the evident desire of the Russians to make themselves

^{*} At the extreme south of the island.

possessors of the whole island, and requested that some person well acquainted with its geography should be sent to negotiate. The bakufu, though desirous of despatching a second mission, had so much on their hands during the five following years that

they were unable to carry out their intention, and the Russians took advantage of this long interval to form extensive settlements in Sagalin. When the bakufu became aware of their proceedings, they were highly alarmed, and forthwith despatched Köidé Yamato no Kami (Governor of Hakodaté) and Ishikawa Kawachi no Kami (a Commissioner for Foreign Affairs). On arriving at St. Petersburg, Köidé produced the agreement made by Takénouchi and his colleague, in 1862, and proposed to discuss the question on the basis of the nature of the localities. The Russians feigned never to have heard of the arrangement, and offered in exchange for Sagalin certain of the Kurile Islands which belonged to them, but Köidé and his colleague denied their jurisdiction over the Kuriles. The argument became warm, until the Russians at last said, 'It is not a matter about which we ought to wrangle. Let us both colonize and occupy it.'
Köidé and his colleague consulted together, saying,
'Though we have exhausted every possible argument, the fact remains that their colonies extend south of the fiftieth parallel. It is our fault for putting the negotiation off so long.' Eventually they made a convention, by which the island was to be occupied jointly by Russian and Japanese subjects, and returned home in the following spring to report the result of their mission."

Such is the Japanese version of the negotiations, and the following is the convention:

[Translation.]

ARTICLE 1.

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"Russians and Japanese on the Island of Sagalin Convention shall maintain peaceful and friendly relations. The occupation settlement of any disputes and misunderstandings arising is entrusted to the local authorities. If they cannot settle them, they shall be submitted to the nearest Russian and Japanese governors.

ARTICLE 2.

"In consequence of common possession, Russians and Japanese are at liberty to circulate on the whole island; to make settlements and erect buildings in all localities not yet occupied by buildings, industrial establishments, or gardens.

ARTICLE 3.

"The natives of the island have full and free enjoyment of their personal rights, as well as of their properties. They can, by their own agreement, be hired by Russians or Japanese; and if any have, up to the present time, contracted debts, toward either Russians or Japanese, they may cancel them by work, or such services as are agreed upon.

ARTICLE 4.

"If, in course of time, the Japanese Government should agree to the proposal of Russia, the nearest local governors will be appointed to negotiate a final treaty.

ARTICLE 5.

"The above-mentioned regulations are to come in force immediately on their reception on the Island of Sagalin by the local authorities; and no later than CHAP. X. 1867.

six months after their signature. All other less important questions, not mentioned in the present regulations, shall be resolved by the local authorities of both states in the same manner as before.

"In witness whereof, the plenipotentiaries of both parties have signed these temporary regulations and caused the seals to be affixed.

"An English translation is joined to the present, duly signed by the interpreters of both parties.

"St. Petersburg, March 18th, 1867.

(Signed) "Köidé no Kami.

"ISHIKAWA KAWACHI NO KAMI.

"STREMOULKOW."

CHAPTER XI.

1867.

The Representatives proceed to Ozaka.—Satisfactory Interviews with the new Shôgun.—Sites chosen for foreign Settlements.

In the month of April there was a general move of all the Representatives to Ôzaka. M. Roches, Sir H. Representatives Parkes, General van Valkenburg (the new American proceed to Ozaka. Minister), and Mr. van Polsbroek all left Yokohama for the former city, in order to hold the long-projected interviews with the shôgun. The diplomatists were received with some state; salutes were fired, Japanese guards lined the banks of the river, and when each had left the barge provided by the Government for his passage up the stream, he found good accommodation reserved for him and his following in divers of the large temples situated in the upper part of the city. Sir H. Parkes, with whom were the Secretary of Legation Mr. Locock, Mr. Mitford, Mr. Satow, Mr. Aston, and Captain Applin, in command of the mounted escort, had three large temples placed at his disposal, and they were all comfortably housed by the 18th of April.

The succeeding days were taken up in preliminary

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conferences with the Japanese Ministers. Then came the audiences. I will here confine myself to those accorded to the British Minister, being naturally better informed with respect to them.

Sir H. Parkes's shôgun.

On the 29th of April there was what may be semi-official termed a semi-official interview. His Highness, for as such Sir H. Parkes properly addressed the shôgun, expressed his pleasure at seeing the Representatives, in order to assure them of his desire to adhere strictly to the treaties, and to increase the friendship with the countries to which Japan had bound herself by solemn He also expatiated on the difficulties of his position owing to the existence of a party which advocated the closing of the ports. The interview being over, a repast was served in foreign style.

Formal audience.

On the 2nd of May the British Minister, accompanied by the gentlemen of his Legation, the commanders of three of H.M.'s ships, and other naval officers, was received in formal audience.

There had been much previous discussion as to the mode of reception to be adopted, and it had been finally agreed that the etiquette should be in accordance with that in use in European courts. There was to be no separation of a certain number of mats between the shôgun and the Minister, or between the Minister and those who accompanied him. Of yore, his Highness, sitting motionless on an elevated pedestal, had received a foreign Representative at a distance of from twelve to eighteen feet, and any other foreign official permitted to accompany the Envoy was similarly separated from him.

But on this occasion Sir H. Parkes close to his Highness, who rose as he approached, and continued standing whilst the British Minister delivered his address, and whilst he himself replied. The rest of the Legation, too, and the naval officers, remained close behind the Minister, and they were all duly presented after the delivery of the speeches. At this interview the Queen received a proper title, which placed her Majesty on equal terms with the Emperor of Japan.

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After all the audiences were over, the Representa- sites for tives met in conference, and agreed upon a site for the settlements. foreign settlement of Hiôgo. A site for a settlement at Ôzaka was also fixed upon during this visit.

The Representatives and their personnel were treated during their stay as the honoured guests of the shôgun, at whose invitation they had come. theatres were thrown open to them, his Highness provided cooks and a table for all who chose to avail themselves thereof at their own residences, and barges were always in waiting to convey his guests from one part of the city to the other, or down the river, to the roads where the foreign ships were stationed.

The account of the visit to Ozaka is given briefly Native account of enough by the author of the Kinsé Shiriaku, but Representatives' visit. some other details worthy of mention are added.

"Shortly before this, the Representatives of the foreign Powers had come to Hiôgo to congratulate the shôgun upon his succession, and to make certain requests of him. He invited them to an interview at Ôzaka. The foreign Representatives then urged the speedy opening of Hiôgo, and the shôgun consequently addressed a memorial to the Mikado, saying, 'Although the date originally fixed for the opening of Hiôgo has now been exceeded by two years, your servants were able to put the foreigners off, by alleging the disturbed state of the country, but now they have

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come to press for the performance of the promise. Among the numerous nations of which the universe outside Japan is composed, for fear the strong should oppress the weak, they are accustomed to enter into treaties, according to which the intercourse of great and small is regulated, and good faith observed. Such weighty matters are treaties. Therefore, even though they are at Hiôgo, your servant can ensure that they do not treat us in an overbearing manner. Besides, the opening of Hiôgo is stipulated in the treaties, and we cannot break our word. I pray, therefore, that the Imperial Court will give its consent.' The Imperial Court consulted the clans, most of whom signified their approval, and accorded its consent in the month of June."

CHAPTER XII.

1867.

Return of Representatives to Yokohama.—Commander Bullock and Mr. Aston proceed to the West Coast.-Mr. Satow and Mr. Wirgman return by the Tôkaidô.—Attack on them by retainers of Reiheishi at Kakégawa. - Punishment of Offenders.

THE whole party, except Mr. Satow and Mr. Aston, now returned to Yokohama. As a proof of the new Representaregime which seemed to have been inaugurated by to Yoko-hama. the visit of the Representatives to Ozaka, it may be mentioned that each of them on his arrival at Yokohama was saluted by the fort at Kanagawa, and received a letter of congratulation from the rôjiu, and on their proceeding to Yedo, they were-visited by the members of that high council.

Mr. Aston meanwhile proceeded in H.M.S. "Serpent," surveying vessel, Commander Bullock, by Nagasaki round the main island, and an examination of the Examinawest coast led to the conclusion that Nanao in the coast. territory of the Prince of Kaga was the only port besides Niigata which could be recommended for the port to be opened on that coast, according to the provision in the treaties.

CHAP. XII. 1867. Messrs. Satow and Wirgman return by

Mr. Satow returned to Yokohama by land, accompanied by Mr. Wirgman, the artist already mentioned in the preceding volume. The two travellers left Ôzaka on the 18th of May, and did not reach Yokohama till the 3rd of June. The number of days consumed in their journey had led to some anxiety on their account, and it was found, in fact, that they had been in very great danger from retainers of the Reiheishi Musha no Kôji dono,* who was on his return from Nikkô to Kiôto.

Mr. Satow's account of the occurrence follows:—

[Memorandum.]

Attack on

"On Monday, May 27th, whilst journeying from them by retainers of Hamamatsu to Kakégawa,† the castle town of a Reiheishi at small fudai daimio, I was informed by one of the Kakégawa. gaikokugata‡ who accompanied us that we should probably meet on the road the procession of Musha no Kôji. As it was apprehended that some difficulty might arise if we actually passed the procession, on

> * Reiheishi, the Mikado's Envoy to the tomb of Iyéyasŭ. Vide vol. i., note to p. 82.

> Dono was originally a title given to the sesshô and kuambaku only, but its use was gradually extended. At the present moment it is the epistolary official address corresponding to Mr., or Monsieur in French. In private correspondence it is used in addressing a person of inferior social position. servants its contraction don is used as a familiar title. sama, it may be applied to persons of either sex. It is probably a contraction of no tomo, "the palace of," it being considered more polite to say "the palace of the Minister" (kiô dono) than simply the Minister (kiô).—E.S.

- + On the tôkaidô.
- ‡ Subordinate officers of the Commissioners for Foreig Affairs.

account of the rule that all persons must get out of their chairs and salute the Envoy, it was agreed that we should endeavour to avoid meeting it, and with that intention we hurried on to Kakégawa, reached it by half-past four in the afternoon. Reiheishi was expected to pass through Kakégawa and sleep at a post-town one stage nearer to Kiôto, but up to ten o'clock, the time when we retired to rest, he had not arrived. About a quarter-past one o'clock, I was aroused from sleep by a person, who afterwards proved to be a young betté,* saying to me, 'Mr. Satow, get up and take your sword; they are breaking in.' I got up, reached my sword from the stand where I had placed it before going to bed, and listened to the noise of breaking down shutters which was going on somewhere near my bedroom. From the whispers of the guard who woke me, I understood that we were being attacked by the followers of the Reiheishi, and that the guards who had accompanied us from Ozaka were not on the spot. In about three minutes the noises came to an end, and I heard my name called out by some one, who turned out to be a Japanese two-sworded man in my own service, named Noguchi Tomizô. informed me that the attacking party had run away, and that there was no further danger.

"From his statement I gathered that there were were about twelve or thirteen men in all, variously armed, two with long swords, and the rest with short swords and clubs. They came to the kitchen door and shouted for the *Ijin*, or barbarians, to be given up

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^{*} The betté gumi were a body of guards who were especially charged with the protection of foreigners, and accompanied them when out of doors.

CHAP XII. 1867. to them, and commenced breaking the door down, on which all the people of the hotel fled from the house. Noguchi, being wakened by the disturbance, buckled on his sword and came to rouse me, but hearing the assailants close to his room, told the young guard to wake me whilst he defended the entrance. He met them at the entrance close to his room, and answered their reiterated demands for the Ijin by pointing his pistol and threatening to shoot, and rather than attack a man armed with so deadly a weapon they thought it more prudent to retire. the mean time, one of the men armed with long swords had penetrated to the room next but two to that in which I was sleeping, and hacked down the musquito nets, in the hope, probably, of killing the person whom he supposed to be inside. This was an officeservant of her Majesty's Legation, belonging to the Japanese department, who had already taken refuge in flight. From there the ruffian proceeded along the passage leading to Noguchi's room, where he met with the same reception as the rest of his comrades, and likewise retired without striking a blow.

"Next morning early I sent for the gaikokugata, and requested them to demand the surrender of the chief culprits in order that they might be given in charge to the authorities of the place, or to threaten, as an alternative, that the guard attached to me should proceed to the Reiheishi's hotel and seize the men whom Noguchi would point out. This communication was made through the authorities of the town to the Mikado's Envoy, who denied all knowledge of the matter, and refused redress.

"After much negotiation it was arranged that one of the Reiheishi's chief retainers should remain

behind with three of the chief culprits, until the Emperor's will was known; that this retainer should give a written undertaking to the authorities of the place to remain there, and that the latter should give me a copy countersigned and sealed by the civil governor. This was done, and a duplicate of the document was given to one of the gaikokugata, who started at once for Kiôto, in company with a betté, to lay the matter before the bakufu. The Reiheishi was then permitted to start, and after he left we took our departure also."

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It is satisfactory to be able to state that in this Punishment of instance the shôgun's government took energetic and offenders. successful steps for bringing the offenders to justice, and this redounds the more to their praise, because the men had to be sought out in Kiôto, and it was probably no easy matter to lay hands upon them in that city, where the prejudice, or one may rather say, the hatred, against foreigners was excessive. the sacred character and high position of the Reiheishi must be taken into consideration. But the result of the proceedings was that, out of six men who were brought to Yedo and put upon their trial, two, Hiyashi Shikibu and Yamada Tomono, were convicted of an attempt to kill foreigners and of the crime of extorting money with violence, and they were sentenced to death; four others being condemned, as accessories, to banishment to distant islands, a sentence which involves penal servitude of a severe nature.

Hiyashi Shikibu had, however, died in prison; but Yamada Tomono was executed on the 16th of December, in the presence of Dr. Willis and Mr. Troup, of the British Legation.

CHAPTER XIII.

1867.

Additions to Diplomatic Body.—Improved relations.—Proclamations as to opening of Hiôgo and Ôzaka, and Chôshiu dispute.—Inspection of West Coast.—Messrs. Mitford and Satow's journey from Nanao to Ôzaka.—Murder of two English sailors of the "Icarus" at Nagasaki.—Suspicion on Tosa Clan.—Murderer subsequently discovered to be from Chikuzen.—Punishment.—Sir H. Parkes's visit to Awa.—M. Roches intercedes with Shôgun for Native Christians.—Seventy-seven released. — Kéiki receives title of Kubô sama.—Memorials of Daimios.—Letter from ex-Prince of Tosa to Shôgun suggesting return of governing power to Emperor.—He does so.—It is accepted.—Preparations for action by combined Clans. — Movement of Troops to Capital.

CHAP. XIII. Additions to diplomatic body.

The diplomatic body had now received two additions; Herr Von Brandt had returned to Japan with the rank of Prussian Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General, and the French mail steamer of June brought Count de la Tour Vittoria, the Italian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

Improved relations.

Relations really seemed to be less restrained than formerly, and there were hopes that the friendly assurances given by Kéiki, and his expressed desire that there should be more intercourse between

Japanese and foreign officials were bearing some fruit. Mr. Satow, it may be mentioned, dined unofficially with some Commissioners of Foreign Affairs at Yedo, and at this entertainment, the first of its kind in that capital, conversation on politics was freely admitted.

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On the 1st of July Kéiki published a proclama-Proclamations as to tion stating that the port of Hiôgo and the city of Hiôgo and Ozaka would be opened to foreign trade-the following Chôshiu dispute. January. Edicts were also issued by the Emperor, one rescinding the former edict against opening these places, and the other ordaining a peaceable solution of the differences with the Prince of Chôshiu.

Before the month of July the British Minister and Inspection of west some of the Legation were again on the move, and after visiting Hakodaté, they proceeded to Niigata, and paid a two days' visit to the neighbouring island of Sado. Vice-Admiral Sir H. Keppel, in the "Salamis," accompanied Sir H. Parkes, who was on board the "Basilisk," Captain Hewett, V.C. They then continued along the west coast to Nanao, situated, as already mentioned, in the territory of the Prince of Kaga. From there Messrs. Mitford and Satow made their way by land to Ôzaka, and luckily arrived in safety, for, as they were informed on most trustworthy evidence, a plot had been laid by some Tosa and Satsuma men to murder them at a particular spot near Kiôto, and they only escaped this danger by having taken the longer route through the Uji teadistricts, instead of the shorter one, which leads through Ôtsu.

Meanwhile, Sir H. Parkes, continuing his voyage Murder of two Engalong the coast, arrived at Nagasaki on the 13th of lish sailors of the August. a day later than Admiral Keppel. There at Nagasaki they were shocked to hear that on the night of the

CHAP. XIII. 1867. 5th of that month two seamen belonging to H.M.S. "Icarus" had been brutally murdered in the street. The men concerned in the deed, whoever they were, had escaped, and nothing was apparently known respecting them. But little attempt had been made to track them out, and it was evident that the police of Nagasaki was in a most inefficient state. Not long previously an American sailor had been killed, and two Chinese servants in the employ of foreigners had been attacked by Japanese, and severely wounded, but in neither case had the guilty men been discovered by the authorities of the port, nor indeed had any serious steps been taken to bring them to justice.

Suspicion in the present instance fell upon men of the Tosa clan, and it must be confessed that there were circumstances which favoured this supposition. The steps taken in consequence, including a visit of Sir H. Parkes to Tosa, need not, however, be detailed, because the suspicion had, in reality, fallen on an innocent clan, and it was not till the end of 1868 that the actual facts were ascertained.

Chikuzen men really implicated.

It appears that a party of nine students, who lived in the Chikuzen yashiki, had been drinking a good deal on the evening of the 5th of August. Shortly after ten o'clock they went out for a stroll through the native town, and whilst rambling about they noticed the two English sailors lying asleep side by side in the street. They all gathered round to have a look at the men; some of the party, after stopping a little, seem to have gone on in the direction of their yashiki, the rest remaining behind. One of these, named Kanéko Saikichi, who was by far the senior of the party, suddenly drew his sword, struck two blows in

One man killed both sailors.

rapid succession at the sleeping men, and then ran off in an opposite direction to that which his companions had taken, along a street leading into the country. The men who stood beside Kanéko at the time rejoined their companions, when they all ran away to their yashiki. There they subsequently reassembled, and made a solemn promise not to divulge what had happened. Kanéko eventually returned to the yashiki the next night, and his friends then reported all the circumstances to their superior officer, the agent of the clan. He said the matter must be kept secret, and ordered Kanéko to be placed in custody, intending to send him off to Chikuzen by a steamer that was about to leave. He was indeed taken on board the steamer, and there tried to kill himself. was then removed to a place of confinement, and the same night he managed to elude the vigilance of his guards, and with a short sword belonging to one of them committed suicide, being also wounded by the suicide. pistol of one of the guards, who awoke and, perceiving a man in the room with a drawn sword, fired at him. His body was immediately sent to Fukuoka in Chikuzen by the steamer. Seven of the other students returned to Fukuoka, where the authorities enjoined them to keep the matter secret, but they were subsequently surrendered for trial. The remaining man, Murakami Kenjirô, escaped to Hakodaté, but subsequently gave himself up.

In the month of February, 1869, judgment was Chiji and others ultimately given. The Chiji of the Fukuoka han punished without (Prince of Chikuzen) was ordered to remain in contion with British finement in his own house, and to make a suitable Minister. provision for the wives and children of the murdered men; the seven others were condemned to imprison-

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CHAP. XIII. 1867. ment, as well as the officer of the administration of justice in Chikuzen. The soldiers who kept such loose guard over Kanéko were also punished.

But these sentences, most unaccountably, were passed without communication with her Majesty's Minister, who first learnt them through the medium of the Government Gazette.

Sir H. Parkes naturally complained that he should have been kept in ignorance of the whole proceedings, and had not been consulted as to whether the sentences proposed to be passed would be satisfactory to him. The Government acknowledged the justice of these remarks, apologized for the want of courtesy, and declared themselves ready to afford whatever reparation Sir H. Parkes might deem it to be his duty to demand.

His further demands complied with.

The demands, which were complied with, were comprised in the following articles:—

- "1. That the Government should transmit to her Majesty's Minister a full record of all the proceedings in the case, and of the sentences passed on each man.
- "2. That they should address to him a note, expressing their regret that these proceedings had been concluded without reference to him.
- "3. That in future they would always invite her Majesty's Representative to send a member of the Legation to be present at such proceedings, and that this course should be observed when sentence was passed on Murakami Kenjirô.
- "4. That a full apology in writing from the Chiji of the Fukuoka han should be delivered to Sir H. Parkes by a high official of the han.
 - "5. That upon demand the Government would

give members of the Legation the opportunity of visiting the prisoners in Chikuzen."

Murakami's sentence of imprisonment was passed upon him in the presence of Mr. Satow.

The Tosa clan were thus cleared of the imputation that had fallen upon them, and at the solicitation of the ex-prince, Sir H. Parkes addressed to him, through the Government, a letter declaring the same, to the great satisfaction of that steady friend to foreigners.

A pleasant episode during this time of business and Visit to anxiety was a visit paid to the Prince of Awa, in Shikoku, by Sir H. Parkes, Admiral Keppel, and some members of the Legation, on their way to the Tosa territory. The garrison of Hiôgo consisted of two or three hundred men of the Awa clan, and through an intimacy which had sprung up between Mr. Satow and some of the officers this visit was arranged.

The party anchored, on the evening of the 30th of August, in the bay of Wadashima. The next day, after some delay owing to bad weather, they rode seven or eight miles to Tokushima, the capital of the Awa principality, where they were lodged in a comfortable temple. In the evening they had a most cordial reception from the two princes, father and son, within the walls of the castle. This was the first time that foreigners had been thus received inside a daimio's castle, and the entertainment was served in true Japanese style, and was of a sumptuous character. The hosts and their retainers vied with each other in showering attentions upon their guests, and all foreigners who have had any opportunity of mixing with Japanese of high rank will willingly bear testimony to the innate good breeding and gentlemanlike

CHAP. XIII. 1867. manners which characterize that class, when they desire to be polite. There is an ease, a dignity, and a repose about them, which, although it may sometimes lack the heartiness and sincerity on which we more particularly pride ourselves, is still very pleasant to meet with in social relations.

However, be all that as it may, it was gratifying to the British Minister to find one of the great daimios of Japan receiving the Admiral and himself with such cordiality, and on terms of intimacy. Although the particular reason for such civility was doubtless to be found in the set purpose of many clans to curry favour with the foreign Representatives, in order to further their designs against the bakufu, still, for the foreigners, it was of great importance, as marking one more step in the arduous task of penetrating into this isolated country, and of inducing the haughty nobles to give up their boasted superiority over us, and to treat us, not as barbarians, but as equals, and as members of the one great human family.

After a review of some six hundred troops, on the 1st of September, the party returned to their ships.

M. Roches intercedes for native Christians.

M. Roches had remained at Ôzaka to intercede with the shôgun in favour of some native Christians who were being persecuted. After some delay, out of 78 who had been arrested, 77 were set at liberty without being called upon to abjure their faith, but they were simply made to express regret for having infringed the laws of their country. The remaining man was flogged and then released, and punishment was subsequently decreed against the officers who were responsible for this act of severity.

On the 18th of September we find Kéiki designated by the title of *Kubô sama*.*

1867. Kéiki receives title of

* Mr. Satow has sent me the following memoranda respecting receives title of Kubô sa

The origin of the term is disputed. Some say that it was first granted by the Mikado to Yoshimitsu, third of the line of Ashikaga. But there are passages in the Taiheiki where it is applied to Yoshinori, father of Yoshimitsu. The word was then used in the same sense as the more modern $k \hat{o} gi$, which means "the authorities." It was not granted by the Mikado, but applied to the shôgun by the common people as a title of respect. Thus far the Akikusa.

The Sadataké Zakki says that the title of kubô denoted a rank equal to that of an ex-Mikado; that it was granted to Ashikaga Takauji, who refused to bear it, because the country was not yet at peace; that Yoshinori also refused to bear it, and Yoshimitsu, envying the chiefs of the Court nobility and Buddhist priesthood their titles of sekké (sesshô) and monzéki, demanded from the Mikado some title which should mark him out as the head of the military class, whereupon the Mikado conferred on him the title of kubô. This statement is, however, in all probability an error. The term kubô existed even in the times of the puppet shôguns of Kamakura, and was used, as mentioned above, in the same way as the modern kôgi.

Another derivation, for which there seems to be no written authority, is that $kub\hat{o}$ properly means the Mikado, and that the people applied the term $Kub\hat{o}$ sama to Yoshimitsu, on account of his imitating the Mikado's style of living.

The reason why Kéiki only took this title in October is as follows:—It was the usual custom for the appointment to the shôgunate to be accompanied by the office of Naidaijin and Ukonyé no Taishô, with the Zuishin hiôjô (right of having an armed escort) and the privilege of riding to Court in a bullock-cart. It was to this, and not to the shôgunate, that the title of Kubô sama was supposed to be attached, as is proved by several passages in the Taihei Nempiô, a history of the Tokugawa shôguns, ending with Iyénari's abdication in 1837. Although Kéiki had accepted the shôgunate early in the year, he had refused up to October to become Naidaijin. The real fact is that the dignity of Kubô sama was not conferred by the Mikado, but that of Naidaijin, which involves it, was.

CHAP. XIII. 1867. Memorials against summary edicts as to opening Hiôgo and Ôzaka, and Chôshiu dispute.

Matters were meanwhile becoming more ripe in Satsuma, Tosa, Echizen, and Uwajima the west. had taken action together, and had drawn up protests in the shape of two memorials, to the Mikado and shôgun respectively, against the summary nature of the two Imperial edicts already mentioned as having been promulgated at the beginning of July. as the opening of another port and city was concerned, they did not wish to make any opposition, but the Chôshiu dispute was a matter in which they were deeply and personally concerned, and in the settlement of which they claimed to have a voice. Chôshiu was a kokushiu daimio, and the highest interests of their order were involved in this affair; they considered that the only satisfactory solution was the reinstatement of that prince in his former dignities, and the relinquishment by him of the territory in the provinces of Iwami and Buzen, which he had conquered, and of which he still retained possession.

Letter from ex-Prince of Tosa to gesting return of governing power to Emperor.

The ex-Prince of Tosa had returned to his native of Tosa to shôgun sug- province in October on account of serious ill-health. From there he addressed a letter to Kéiki, advising him to restore the whole governing power to the The letter said: "It appears to me that although the government and penal laws have been administered by the military class ever since the Middle Ages, yet since the arrival of foreigners we have been squabbling amongst ourselves, and much public discussion has been excited. The east and the west have risen in arms against each other, and civil war has never ceased, the effect being to draw on us the insults of foreign nations. The cause of this lies in the fact that the administration proceeds from two centres, and because the Empire's ears and eyes are

turned in two different directions. The march of events has brought about a revolution, and the old system can no longer be obstinately persevered in. You should restore the governing power into the hands of the sovereign, and so lay a foundation on which Japan may take its stand as the equal of all other This is the most imperative duty of the present moment, and is the heartfelt prayer of Yôdô.* Your Highness is wise enough to take this advice into consideration."

As the end of the year approached, the opposition to the shôgun assumed greater dimensions, the western clans alleging their usual complaint that the bakufu carried on the trade with foreigners simply for its own benefit, and not for the benefit of the whole of Japan, and that the shôgun had brought up a number of troops to Kiôto for the purpose of coercing rather than of protecting the Emperor.

The effect upon Kéiki of the manifest intention of his adversaries to push matters to extremities, caused him to take a decisive step. Full of talent and accomplishments as he is, he is said to have always felt a certain disinclination to risk his fortunes in the field. On the 9th of November, by a manifesto, he Kéiki returns returned his delegated power into the hands of the delegated power to Emperor. It was understood that he so acted on condition that a general council of daimios should be immediately convened at Kiôto, there to deliberate upon and settle the basis of a new constitution.

Manifesto.

"A retrospect of the various changes through which His manithe Empire has passed shows us that, after the deadness

^{*} His name was Yamanoüchi Yôdô.

CHAP. XIII. 1867. of the monarchical authority, power passed into the hands of the Minister of State, that by the wars of 1156 to 1159 the governmental power came into the hands of the military class.* My ancestor† received greater marks of confidence than any before him, and his descendants have succeeded him for more than two hundred years.

"Though I perform the same duties, the objects of government and of the penal laws have been missed, and it is with feelings of the greatest humiliation that I find myself obliged to acknowledge my own want of virtue as the cause of the present state of things.

"Moreover, our intercourse with foreign countries becomes daily more extensive, and consequently our national policy cannot be pursued unless directed by the whole power of the State.

"If, therefore, the old regime be changed, and the governmental authority be restored to the Imperial Court; if the counsels of the whole Empire be collected, and the wise decisions received; and if we unite with all our heart and all our strength to protect and maintain the Empire, it will be able to range itself with the nations of the earth. This comprises our whole duty towards our country.

"However, if you (the Daimios) have any particular ideas on the subject, you may state them without reserve."

Emperor accepts return of governing power.

The Emperor accepted the return of the governing power, the daimios were summoned to the capital, and

^{*} When the Taira or Hei became paramount in the Empire through Kiyomori. Vide vol. i. note to p. 27.

[†] Iyéyasŭ.

Kéiki was directed in the mean while, should any matter arise relating to foreign affairs, to consult with certain clans acquainted with the same, and arrange a postponement.

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On the side of the combined class preparations for action were being made. All kinds of schemes for reforms were mooted, to be discussed in the coming assembly of nobles.

Troops of the bakufu had been despatched from Movements of Yedo by land and sea to Kiôto, and as the daimios kept arriving in the latter capital, the number of armed men increased considerably. In particular, detachments of Satsuma soldiers had been stealthily moved up under various pretexts. The 15th of December was the day fixed for the opening of the assembly, but it had come and gone, and no assembly had met.

Great events, however, were at hand.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

1868.

Opening of Ôzaka and Hiôgo.—Palace revolution.—Aidzu dispossessed of Nine Gates by Satsuma, &c.—Bakufu abolished and other offices created.—Honours and titles restored to House of Môri.—Return of banished Kugés. -Tokugawa Naifu (Kéiki) retires to Ôzaka with troops. -Address of Diplomatic Body, and his reply.

On the 1st of January, 1868, the city of Ôzaka and the port of Hiôgo were opened to foreign trade, opening of amidst the customary firing of salutes and hoisting of Hiôgo flags, and with no sort of opposition on the part of the natives. The foreign Representatives had all arrived from Yokohama in the last days of 1867.

Now, it will be remembered that the general command of the nine gates of the Imperial palace at Kiôto had been held by the Prince of Aidzu, the staunchest adherent of the house of Tokugawa. Suddenly, at midday on the 3rd of January, Satsuma, Tosa, Geishiu, Owari, and Echizen * took possession lution. of these gates, dismissed the sesshô, forbade those

^{*} Men belonging to these clans are of course meant.

CHAP. 1868. Aidzu discommand of nine gates

Bakufu abolished. created.

kugés who had previously enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor to approach the palace, and surrounded possessed of his Majesty with other kugés, whose views were nine gates by Satsuma, identical with those of the above five clans. then met together, and on the 4th obtained an Imperial decree, abolishing the bakufu and other offices, and establishing temporarily certain other offices, to which the names of sôsai, gijô, and sanyo* were given, for the purpose of carrying on the func-Other offices tions of government. In this decree it was stated that the Emperor had determined that a basis should be formed for a return to the ancient form of government by the Sovereign, and for the restoration of the national dignity. "It is the Emperor's decree," so runs the document, "that all things be in accordance with the constitution created by Jimmu Tennô, that the nobles of the Court and the military class, without distinction of rank, shall discuss matters fairly in a fitting manner, and that his Majesty and the Empire may enjoy peace and tranquillity. Each must, therefore, exert himself to cleanse away the ingrained love of luxury and sloth, and use his utmost endeavours to do his best by the country."

> Chôshiu troops were now permitted to enter the Capital, and a decree was issued by which all their honours and titles were restored to the members of the house of Môri. Sanjô and others of the banished Court nobles shortly afterwards returned to Kiôto.

Chôshiu troops enter Capital. Honours and titles restored to house of Môri. Return of banished kugés.

"Although peace had been made between Tokugawa and Môri,† it seemed as if the feeling of mutual hostility engendered by the war had not completely died out, and the Aidzu samurai in particular

^{*} Vide infra, p. 88.

[†] i.e. between the bakufu and the Chôshiu clan.

were dissatisfied. They were extremely unwilling to be considered on a level with the Chôshiu men, and were highly offended at their presence in the Capital. Tokugawa Naifu (Kéiki) was also bitterly mortified by the order to turn out his troops from the palace, which had been issued on the 3rd, and, his views undergoing a complete change, he at last summoned the Aidzu clan and others of his adherents to a council at the Castle of Nijô. He then addressed Naifu (Kéiki) them as follows: 'Why has the policy of the Court addresses Aidzu and altered thus in the last few days? There must be other adherents. some one who, in order to succeed in a plot, is misleading the young Emperor.' Annoyed at having been excluded from participation in the measures adopted on the 3rd, he informed the Court that he would act upon its previous order, and take charge of His memorial to the affairs; that order had declared that everything should Court. be determined by a counsel of princes to be assembled at the Capital. The conduct of the Naifu* in sending up such a memorial, after having surrendered the governing power, caused him to be regarded with general distrust.

1868.

"The palace at this moment was guarded by Satsuma, Chôshiu, Tosa, Geishiu, and various other princes, while the greater part of the Tokugawa family's troops occupied the Castle of Nijô, and seemed to be keeping a keen watch on the movements of the others. The public feeling was very uneasy, and various rumours flew about. Some of the Tokugawa

^{*} The date of Kéiki's resignation of the office of shôgun seems to have been the 4th of January. After that he was styled Tokugawa Naifu, or Naidaijin, by the Court, the rank which he had obtained, and which drew with it the title of Kubô sama. This is from the Kinsé Shiriaku.

CHAP. I. 1868. officers and men advised the Naifu not to submit tamely to the will of their opponents, but to occupy Ôzaka in force, and so block up their line of communication, which would enable him to control their actions. The Naifu consented, and leaving a letter behind for the Court, in which he pretended that he was going away to Ôzaka in order to calm the passions of his retainers, he suddenly proceeded thither on the night of the 6th at the head of the troops, and accompanied by the Princes of Aidzu and Kuwana, and Itakura Iga no Kami (his chief adviser). The Court considered this proceeding so suspicious that it prohibited the clans of Kuwana and Aidzu from re-entering the Capital."

He retires to Ôżaka with troops.

Statement of the Naifu to French and English Representatives.

The Naifu arrived at Ôzaka on the afternoon of the 7th, escorted by a considerable number of troops, and the following day M. Roches and Sir H. Parkes were received by him. He made a statement of the position of affairs similar to what has been related. He said that his policy from the commencement had been to determine the question of the future form of government in a peaceful manner, and that, in pursuance of the same object, instead of opposing force by force, he had retired from the scene of dispute. It would too, he continued, have been unseemly for him to have been the first to draw the sword so near the palace of the Mikado, against whom he would have appeared to be arrayed, though he well knew that such would not really be the case.*

The Naifu further said that he was still prepared to abide by the decision of an assembly of daimiôs, but it must be a genuine assembly, and must not

^{*} And thus become a chôtéki, or rebel against the Court.

consist of Satsuma and a few of his adherents only. CHAP. The decree stating that the resignation of the office of shôgun was accepted he did not recognize as official, and he intended to address a protest to the Mikado, advising his Majesty that the government of the faction into whose hands He had fallen was, in fact, on government.

On the 10th the Naifu received all the foreign He receives the diplomatic body. Representatives, who were prepared with a written address, which was read out by M. Roches, as their doyen. In this document the Naifu is styled Uyésama, the title applied to him by his retainers (the Tokugawa clan) after he ceased to be shôgun, and it seems to have been adopted by the foreign Representatives as long as they continued to hold relations with him.

The address and Kéiki's reply were as follows:

Address of the Diplomatic Body.

"Au moment où le Gouvernement du Japon subit Their adde profondes modifications, les Représentants des Puissances étrangères signataires des Traités éprouvent le besoin d'exprimer leurs sentiments de haute estime et de gratitude au Uyésama qui par son énergie et sa loyauté a pu assurer l'exécution fidèle des dits Traités.

"Parfaitement décidés à rester étrangers aux dissensions relativement à la forme du gouvernement, les Représentants ici présents n'émettent qu'un vœu, c'est qu'un Gouvernement national et stable puisse être formé qui leur assure de suffisantes garanties pour l'exécution loyale des engagements internationaux.

"A côté de leurs désirs existe un droit, c'est celui

CHAP. I. 1868. de connaître officiellement et sans retard le Gouvernement auprès duquel ils doivent défendre les intérêts qu'ils ont l'honneur de représenter au Japon.

"Ils espèrent que le Uyésama prendra en sérieuse considération et leurs désirs et leur droit, et voudra bien leur faire connaître, dans le plus bref délai possible, le Gouvernement auquel ils auront à s'adresser désormais."

Reply of the Uyésama.

[Translation.]

His reply.

"My ancestor Iyéyasŭ Kô* established the Japanese form of Government, with all its fundamental principles and all its details, and for more than 200 years, from the Tenshi† above down to the lowest of the nation, there is no one who has not honoured his virtues and enjoyed the fruits-of his beneficence.

"But the world has changed. Since the conclusion of the Treaties with foreign Powers it has been impossible to avoid seeing some imperfections in laws considered good and beautiful. From the very first moment when I succeeded my predecessor I saw this, and designed in consultation with Kiôto to effect a reformation in these laws. I had no other motive but the following. With an honest love for my country and for the people, I voluntarily resigned the governing power which I had inherited from my ancestors, and with the mutual understanding that I should assemble the nobles of the Empire to discuss the

^{*} Kô is used colloquially to all great persons. It is sometimes translated "lord."

It literally means "noble." It is not a conferred title, but one of courtesy.—E. S.

[†] Son of Heaven. Vide vol. i. p. 9.

question disinterestedly, and, adopting the opinion of the majority, should decide upon the reformation of the national constitution, I appealed to the Imperial Court.

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"In order that this great work might be carried out, his Highness the Regent, who was appointed by the will of the late Emperor to be protector and adviser to the young Sovereign, and several of the Princes of the blood and of the nobles of the Court, accepted my resignation of the governing power; but an Imperial order was given to me at the same time to continue to exercise that power in all things as heretofore, until a decision should be arrived at by a disinterested council of daimios. I awaited that meeting, and was fully resolved to take a part in it myself. Unexpectedly, however, one morning several daimios made their way into the palace by force of arms, drove out his Highness the Regent appointed by the late Mikado, together with the Princes of the blood and the nobles of the Court, brought in in their stead nobles who had been banished from his presence by the late Emperor, altered the original Imperial command, and, without waiting for the general expression of opinion, abolished the office of shôgun.

"My hatamotos and fudai daimios were greatly incensed, and urged on me night and day that no course could be pursued but that of taking military measures against this violent crime of breaking the laws of Japan and contravening the wishes of the people.

"But, as my original object in laying down the governing power was to insure unity amongst all classes of the people, such an excess of zeal was not in accordance with the course I had laid down for CHAP. I. 1868. myself. However much I might be in the right, I certainly would not be the cause of a national convulsion. In order to avoid such an unfortunate disturbance of the peace I came down to Ôzaka.

"My reason for doing this is not what superficial observers might suppose. Looking at their criminal act from the point of view of a love for my country and for the people, I cannot see them with indifference possessed of the person of the young Sovereign, giving loose to their own selfish desires under the name of the Emperor's wishes, and distressing the people. For the sake of my nation I feel it necessary to explain this. I intend to try to convince those who differ from my views, if such persons exist, to ask for the opinion of the majority of a general Council, and I pray earnestly for the prosperous government of my country. It is because I follow the footsteps of my ancestor Iyéyasŭ Kô in my love for the people and desire to carry out the instructions left by the late Emperor, that I am animated by the earnest wish to unite my powers with those of the whole nation, to proceed according to the most perfect justice and reason to carry out the task I have proposed to myself, and to obtain a free and unselfish expression of opinion.

"It is not necessary for the Powers with whom Treaties of Peace have been concluded to concern themselves about our internal national affairs. What is important is that they do not interfere with the course of just principles.

"Since I have observed faithfully all the provisions of the Treaties, I hope to deserve your approbation still more by protecting the interests of all the Powers. And you will comprehend that, until the

form of government shall be settled by a general CHAP. discussion by the whole country, to observe the Treaties, to carry out the stipulations made with foreign Powers, and to conduct foreign relations generally is my office."

1868.

CHAPTER II.

1868.

CHAP.

The new Government.—Establishment of "Government" or "Official Gazette."—Further Changes.

The palace revolution was effected. The influential men of the western clans, carrying with them a few individuals of the daimio class, and in combination with certain kugés, held possession of the Emperor's person, and issued laws in his name.

The new Government. The new Government being established, a constitution was drawn up. It has already been mentioned that three new offices were created.

1st.—Sôsai ("Supreme Administrator"), of which there was one who must be a Prince of the blood, and he was assisted by *fuku*, or assistant *sôsai*, who might be either kugés or daimios.

2nd.—Gijô, to which both kugés- and daimics were eligible. Literally, "to consult and decide."

3rd.—Sanyo, to which both the same classes and also retainers selected by the Mikado were eligible. Literally, "to be connected with." These were subordinate officers.

The whole machinery of government was divided

into eight departments. Mr. Satow's translation of the original document states:— 1868.

THE EIGHT DEPARTMENTS.

1st.—The Sôsai department.

2nd.—Jingi-jimu-Kioku, or department of the Shintô religion. This department has charge of the Shintô festivals and of the priests.

3rd.—Daikoku-jimu-Kioku, or department of This department has charge of the home affairs. Capital and the five home provinces, of land and water transport in all the provinces, of post-towns and post roads, of barriers and fairs, and of the governors of castle-towns, ports, &c.

4th. — Gaikoku-jimu-Kioku, or department of foreign affairs. This department has charge of foreign relations, treaties, trade, recovery of lands, and sustentation of the people.

5th.—Gumbô-jimu-Kioku, or war department. This department has charge of the naval and military forces, drilling, protection of the Emperor, and military defences in general.

6th.— Kuaikei - jimu - Kioku, or department of This department has the charge of the registers of houses and population, of rates and taxes, money, corn, accounts, tribute, building and repairs, salaries, public storehouses, and internal trade.

7th.—Keiko-jimu-Kioku, or judicial department. This department has charge of the censorate, of inquisitions, arrests, trials, and the penal laws in general.

8th. — Seido-jimu-Kioku, or legislative department. This department has charge of the superinCHAP. II. 1868. tendence of offices, enactments, sumptuary regulations, appointments, and all other laws and regulations.

Chôshi and Kôshi.

Chôshi are unlimited in number. They are retainers of daimios and other men of talent from the towns or country districts, who are specially and impartially selected on account of their ability. They are appointed to be sanyo, and also to be officers of the different departments. Some are appointed to office without being sanyo. Their term of office is for four years, after which they retire in favour of those who possess the greatest wisdom and talent. Such as are of surpassing ability and cannot be dispensed with are eligible for a further period of four years. They are chosen by a general vote.

Kôshi.—Three for every clan above 400,000 koku; two for every clan between 400,000 koku and 100,000 koku; one for every clan below 100,000 koku. These are clansmen selected by their prince, and sent by him to the deliberative assembly; they are, in fact, members of parliament. The object is to arrive at the opinion of the majority. The number is fixed, but the period of service is unlimited, and they obey the directions of their prince. Such as are of sufficient talent may be selected to be Chôshi.

There appear to have been 312 Kôshi summoned to present themselves in Kiôto within fifty days of receiving the writ. Seven clans considered to be in opposition to the Emperor were excluded from the enumeration.

Arisugawa no Miya, Prince of the blood, was appointed sôsai, and the Kugés Sanjô and Iwakura became fuku, or assistant sôsai. Among the subordi-

nates of the council are found the names of Komatsu of Satsuma, Kido of Chôshiu, and Gotô of Tosa.*

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The department of home affairs was presided over by the Kugé Tokudaiji, next to whom was the ex-Prince of Echizen; Ôkubo Ichiz, of Satsuma, was one of the subordinates.

A Prince of the blood, Yamashina no Miya, was placed at the head of the foreign department, next to whom were the ex-Prince of Uwajima, the Kugé Higashi Kuzé, and the Prince of Hizen. Amongst the subordinates were several names well known to foreigners, some of them already mentioned in this history, such as Itô and Inouyé, the two Chôshiu students who, on their return from England in 1864, attempted in vain to effect an amicable settlement of the differences between their clan and the foreigners. There was also Terashima, of Satsuma, who was destined to play a considerable part in the future foreign relations.

The above constitution was published in a news-Establishment of paper established in the spring of 1868 in the "Government" or Emperor's capital. It bore a title which might "Gazette." freely be translated into English by the words, "Government" or "Official Gazette." This was one of the innovations made by the new rulers. paper was edited by Komatsŭ and Gotô, of the foreign department, and an official of the home department, called Katsura, and it bore the official sanction on its fly-leaf.

It may here be mentioned that another change in Further changes in the government was notified on the 17th of June. government. The framers of this constitution divided the govern-

^{*} They were called Ko-mon, i.e. men of special knowledge, on whom their chief can rely for information.—E. S.

CHAP. 11.

ment into executive, legislative, and deliberative. The last was the previous Seido-jimu-Kioku (No. 8) developed. The duties belonging to the home department were transferred to that of finance. Alterations were made in the terminology of the different classes of officials in each office. In August another constitution was issued, in which the titles were in general the same as those which existed in the 11th century, and some other differences were made, which need hardly be noticed here.

CHAPTER III.

1868.

Burning of Satsuma yashikis in Yedo.—Ex-Princes of Owari and Echizen offer terms to Kéiki.—He follows the warlike counsels of Aidzu, &c., and determines to march on Kiôto with troops.

The month of January was not to pass without bloodshed. On the 19th the Satsuma yashikis in Burning of Yedo, stated to be the hiding-place of rônins, who yashikis in Yedo. sallied out at night to plunder citizens, were attacked, and burnt after some fighting. From this moment Tokugawa and Satsuma clans became bitter the enemies, and the Naifu sent up a memorial to the Mikado, in which he complained of the robberies committed by the Satsuma clan in the Kuantô, and prayed his Majesty to order the wicked retainers of that prince to be given up, otherwise he would be compelled to use force against them.

The Gijô and Sanyo then took counsel together, saying: "Although the Imperial family is now in possession of the government, it has no means of meeting its expenses. The Tokugawa and other clans should be made to contribute." So the ex-Princes Ex-Princes of Owari and Echizen were ordered to proceed to and Echizen.

CHAP. 1868. offer terms to the Naifu.

Ôzaka, and endeavour to talk over the Naifu, who was to be made a gijô. They accordingly communicated to him the wishes of the Court, offering at the same time to admit him to the Emperor's presence. They also advised him to dismiss all feelings of resentment, and to bring but a small escort to the capital. If he felt uneasy about his safety, they, his relations, would guard him with their troops.

Aidzu, Kuwana, and others advise forcible measures.

He deter-

The Naifu expressed his innocence of any treasonable intentions, and promised to obey the Emperor's orders, but in his heart he disliked the proposal. And after the departure of the two Envoys on the night of the 25th, the Princes of Aidzu and Kuwana and their chief retainers addressed the Naifu as follows:-"No faith can be placed in the declaration of the ex-Princes of Owari and Echizen. If your Highness determines to go, your servants will follow even at the risk of their own lives. On this expedition we will remove from the Emperor his bad counsellors, and try the issue with them by the sword." Upon this the Naifu made mines to enter Kiôto up his mind, and determined to enter Kiôto with the with troops. clans of Aidzu and Kuwana in the front of his following. The counsels of the warlike adherents of the Tokugawa cause had now prevailed, and civil war was imminent.

CHAPTER IV.

1868.

Court sends Satsuma and Chôshiu troops to block up roads.— Fighting.—Tsu clan go over to loyal side.—Rebels defeated and flee to Ôzaka.—Foreign Legations leave.—Kéiki retires to Yedo.—Refuses to commit hara kiri on request of Hori Kami, who thereupon kills himself.—New administration at Hiôgo.—Proceedings at Nagasaki.— Declaration of hostilities against Kéiki.

When the news of the Naifu's intention reached the capital, public feeling was much excited. The Court Satsuma sent Satsuma and Chôshiu troops to block up the and Chôshiu Fushimi and Toba roads, and obstruct the advance of block up the "eastern" army, and it gave orders that, although the Naifu was permitted to enter the capital, he could not do so if accompanied by a large force. As for the clans of Aidzu and Kuwana, they were to be absolutely denied admission.

On the 27th the messengers of the house of Tokugawa came to the barriers which had been placed on both the above roads, and asked leave to pass, but it was refused to them by the sentries. The messengers then said: "Our prince is going to Court by order of the Mikado, and if you venture to obstruct his passage, he will force his way through."

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Engage-ments troops.

Having said this, they departed, and soon the eastern army (Aidzu, &c.) approached, and the Kiôto forces received them with a discharge of artillery. engagement ensued in which the Kiôto forces put resulting in their enemy to flight. Then a fire broke out in the loyal Fushimi the assternors attacked. Fushimi, the easterners attacked again, by both roads, and a fight ensued till about six in the evening, when both sides retired from the field. At midnight spies were sent from the Kiôto side to see what the eastern force which had advanced by the Toba road was doing, and they returned with information that it was quartered there, and was taking food. Orders were consequently given to surprise this force, and they were successfully executed. The easterners flung down their weapons and fled, but, reserves coming up, a general fight took place, ending in a victory for the Kiôto troops, who, however, lost three of their captains.

> At eight a.m. on the 28th, the two armies fought again on the Fushimi and Toba roads, and the Kuan-gun, or loyal army,* eventually defeated the easterners, some skirmishers in a bamboo thicket at the side of the Toba road having done great execution. The village of Toba was set on fire, and the "rebels" retreated to the town of Yodo.

Taking of Yodo.

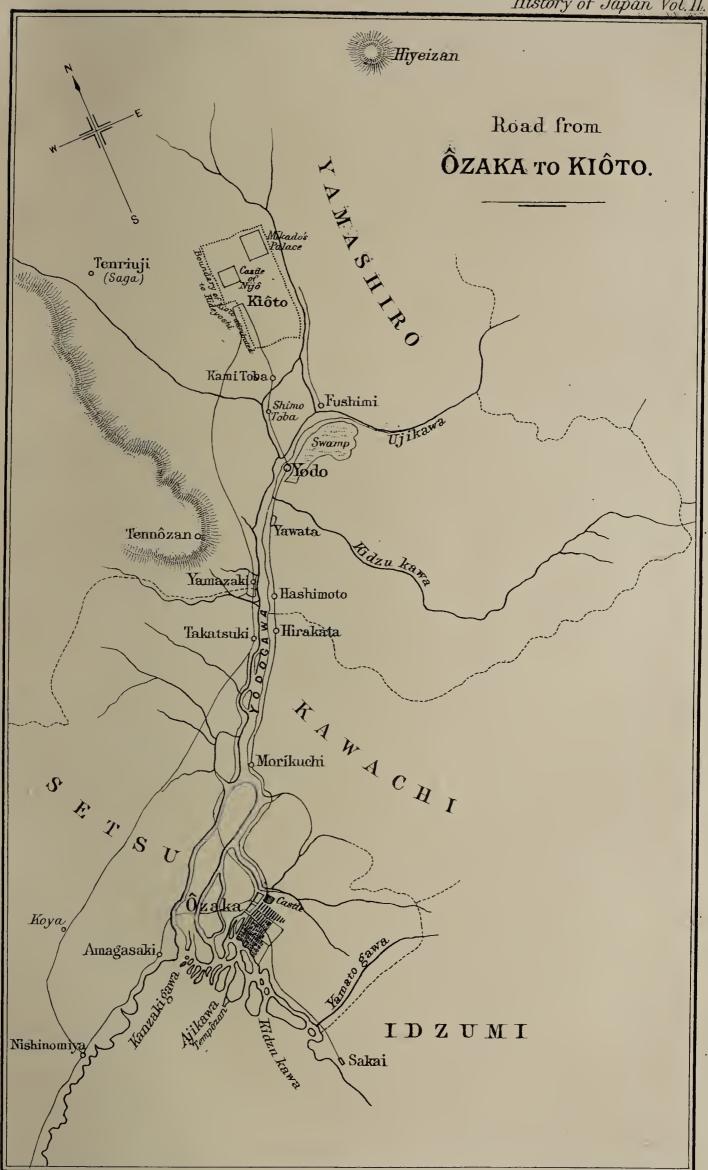
At dawn on the 29th, the loyal army attacked Yodo, and after more fighting took it about noon, their enemy retiring to Hashimoto, on the opposite bank of the river.

Tsu clan go over to loyal side.

Now, it appears that the Tsu clan (from Isé) had

* Literally "Government army," but "loyal army" is a more convenient equivalent for ordinary use.—E. S.

This was, of course, the force from Kiôto. The others were "the eastern army," or "the rebels."





been holding the barrier at Yamazaki in the interests of the eastern army,* but an envoy was sent to them by the Mikado, who enlarged upon the duty of obedience, and talked them over. In conformity with his Majesty's orders, they admitted the loyal forces, but the rebels at Hashimoto knew nothing of their defection.

1868.

On the 30th the loyal forces prepared to attack Hashimoto. It should be observed that on the preceding day the rebels had wished to occupy the Castle of Yodo, but the samurai of that clan† refused to admit them, and they were therefore forced to find lodgings in the town. When the loyal forces took the castle, they reproached the clan with siding with the rebels, upon which the former related how they had repelled the rebels. The Yodo troops were then placed in the van, and an attack was made on Hashimoto, which was stoutly defended by the rebels, until a large number were killed by a flank fire of artillery opened upon their head-quarters from the redoubt at Yamazaki. The whole army then broke Rebels defeated and fled, pursued by the loyal forces, down to Ozaka. Rebels defeated and flee to Ozaka.

Then there was commotion in that city, many natives taking alarm, packing up their property and departing. During the night of the 27th Satsuma's principal yashiki had been burnt, and the remaining ones were occupied by the Naifu's troops. Before the next morning had dawned, the foreign Representatives

* Tôdô Idzumi no Kami was the Kokushiu daimio of Tsu, in the province of Isé. He was descended from one of the greatest allies of Iyéyasŭ.

† Inaba Mino no Kami was the fudai daimio of Yodo. So that both the Tsu and the Yodo clans were vassals of the Tokugawa. Yodo is about twelve miles from Kiôto.

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were officially informed that the Naifu had declared war against Satsuma. At midnight of the 30th they were disturbed by a message from the rôjiu that it was probable that the city would be attacked, and they were therefore requested to withdraw, because the old government could no longer protect them.

This was effected with some difficulty, but eventually in safety. The Castle of Ozaka and the offices of the bakufu were all deserted by the 1st of February, the French Legation was sacked by the mob, who subsequently plundered or destroyed all the furniture left in the British Legation, and the building itself was afterwards burnt to the ground.

Kéiki goes on board the "Iroquois," and thence in the "Kayômaru" to Yedo.

The movements of the ex-shôgun are easily told. After the defeat of his troops he appears to have lost heart, and abandoning his castle during the night of the 30th, to have gone down to Tempôzan with some of his retinue. Early on the morning of the 31st, during a lull, he was able to cross the bar, was received on board the U.S.S. "Iroquois," and shortly afterwards proceeded from there to his own steam corvette, the "Kayômaru." It was not known on board the American ship of war till afterwards that this high personage was among the Japanese who thus asked for and obtained a temporary refuge. "Kayômaru" left for Yedo on the following morning, and the very next day the noble Castle of Ôzaka was set on fire and destroyed, many wounded men of the beaten army perishing in the flames.

Castle of Ôzaka burnt.

The Kinsé Shiriaku says that in the short contest with the eastern troops the Satsuma clan lost 150, and the Chôshiu clan 120 men, and that these large losses arose from the fact of the two clans alone having been opposed to an enemy far superior in numbers;

Estimate of forces engaged.

but their reputation for valour rose immensely. The same authority puts the Kiôto forces at about 6,500 men, and states that the eastern army was reported to be 30,000 strong—no doubt a most exaggerated account.*

CHAP. 1868.

Detachments of the loyal forces were at once sent in various directions to bring the whole of the neighbouring provinces into order, and to enforce obedience. All the clans, it is written, changed their policy and submitted.

Directly after Kéiki's return to Yedo, Hori Kura no Kami no Kami, a newly-appointed member of the Second Kéiki to commit Council, went to his master, and advised him to disembowel himself, as that deed alone could preserve the honour and existence of the Tokugawa clan. In order to prove that he was actuated by disinterested motives in giving this advice to the head of his clan, Hori offered to commit suicide at the same time. Kéiki, however, refused to immolate himself, whereupon He refuses. Hori retired to another room in the palace, and, calling mits hara his retainers about him, solemnly put an end to his own life. It is impossible not to admire the heroism and fine sense of honour of this man, who calmly disembowelled himself, because he considered that, with the fallen fortunes of the house, life was no longer endurable, and who would have looked upon himself as dishonoured, if he had not committed that act

* I think both are exaggerated. From information I received shortly afterwards, I am led to believe that the Naifu had about 10,000 men, while Satsuma and Chôshiu had only 1500 engaged. It seems extraordinary that such a small force should have been victorious, but as the eastern troops had to advance along narrow paths between paddy-fields, their excess of number only rendered them a better mark for the small-arms and artillery of their enemy.—E. S.

CHAP. which he had ventured to urge upon the head of his clan. 1868.

Foreign Representatives re-Hiôgo.

The foreign Representatives now reassembled at assemble at Hiôgo, and took up their quarters as best they could in the few buildings already erected on the piece of ground marked out for the foreign settlement. the port was left entirely unprotected. The governor, Shibata Hiuga no Kami, took his departure on the 3rd of February, thinking that it was no longer safe to remain, and all the other bakufu officials left on the same day.

New administration at Hiôgo.

A new administration was subsequently formed at Hiôgo, and four officers were appointed to form a foreign board.

Proceedings at Nagasaki.

At Nagasaki the governor withdrew quietly, on the 7th of February, on board a ship which left the next day for Yokohama. This prudent conduct probably saved bloodshed, as there were five hundred of the Naifu's troops in the town, and a number of men belonging to Satsuma, Tosa, Geishiu, Hizen, and The governor handed over the charge of Chikuzen. the place temporarily to the retainers of the Princes of Hizen and Chikuzen, who, however, joined with men of other clans in forming a species of provisional government, until the arrival of the new governor appointed by the Emperor.

The contest had begun to assume serious dimensions. Proclamations were issued in the name of the Emperor, dated the 8th of February, declaring an amnesty to all unpardoned criminals, except rebels, the occasion being the resumption of government by the Court, and the celebration of his Majesty's majority. Also a declaration of hostilities against Tokugawa Kéiki, owing to what was deemed

Declaration of hostilities against Kéiki.

his treacherous conduct in resigning the governing power only in form, and then sending troops against the Capital. Punishment was decreed against him and his confederates for having committed open rebellion.

CHAPTER V.

1868.

Spot for Settlement at Kôbé.—Bizen Troops fire on Foreigners.—
One American Sailor-boy wounded.—Seamen and Marines landed to protect Foreigners.—Daimios' Steamers seized.—
Arrival of Higashi Kuzé with document signed by Emperor.
—Steamers given back, and Marines, &c., replaced by Satsuma Troops.—Apology from Mikado's Government, and sentence of hara kiri on Taki Zenzaburô carried out before seven foreign officials:—Acceptance of Treaties by Emperor.
—Existence of civil war.—Neutrality proclamations.—Dr. Willis, with Mr. Satow, visits Kiôto.—Memorial of Nobles urging friendly relations with Foreigners.

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Spot for settlement in Kôbé.

The spot selected for the foreign settlement of Hiôgo was a piece of ground containing about 600 yards of sea-front, by 400 deep. The only buildings which had then been erected upon it were the Japanese Custom House, the Bonded Warehouse, and the British Consulate, all of which were situated at the south-eastern corner, near the sea. On the north side is the main street of Kôbé, the village which joins Hiôgo. Here the foreigners who had arrived to seek their fortune at the new port were lodged, with little regard to comfort, in humble Japanese cottages, until such time as the settlement ground should be sold, and proper houses built upon its site.

On the afternoon of the 4th of February a body of the retainers of the Prince of Bizen were passing 1868.

along the main street above mentioned. First came a troops in Kôbé fire on number of soldiers, a richly-ornamented palanquin, foreigners. surrounded by six men bearing lances, and the usual complement of baggage-carriers; then a space, and The troops were armed, some then more soldiers. with repeating rifles and others with spears. head of the train was a man who kept shouting out the usual "Shita ni iro," and the Japanese, as in duty bound, prostrated themselves, whilst the foreigners, as also in duty bound, remained erect and gazed at the cortège.

As the Bizen men were marching along, it seems, according to the evidence taken subsequently, that a Frenchman, named Callier, who belonged to M. Roches's escort, came out of a shop in the street, and walked along by the side of the troops. One of the soldiers having addressed some words to him in a rough manner, Callier, not understanding, asked him what he had said, upon which the Japanese only made a threatening gesture, and the Frenchman continued to walk on. Thereupon a murmur was heard among the troops, a soldier took the cover off his lance, Callier leapt forward, and, feeling the prick of a weapon, dashed across the column, and escaped into the house. It was at this moment that an officer on horseback dismounted and gave an order, upon which the Bizen troops immediately began firing with great rapidity upon all the foreigners, including Sir Harry Parkes and Captain Stanhope of the "Ocean," who happened to be on the settlement ground. Luckily, little harm was done, for the Japanese, evidently unused to the novel weapon in their hands, must have

CHAP. V. 1868. One American sailorboy wounded. fixed the sights too high, and the balls went whistling over the heads of the foreigners, only wounding one American sailor-boy belonging to the "Oneida."

Legation guards turned out. Useless chase. When there was no longer any one to be fired at, the Bizen men re-formed and proceeded on their way, following the Ôzaka road. As soon as the guards of the British, French, and United States' Legations could be turned out, they started by different ways in search of the Japanese soldiers, and Marines and seamen were landed from the ships of war, and joined in the chase. But the Bizen men, finding that they were pursued, quickly took to their heels, and running away towards the hills, were seen no more.

Seamen and Marines landed to protect foreigners.

A body of about six hundred American, English, and French seamen and Marines were forthwith landed for the protection of foreigners, H.M.S. "Ocean" supplying about 400 of the number, and the Representatives of Treaty Powers then on the spot met to concert further measures for the general safety of themselves and of their countrymen.

The situation was peculiar; all the officials of the late government having left, there was in fact no administration at all. It was therefore wisely agreed upon by the Representatives that they should request the naval commanders to take military charge of the settlement, and to seize five Japanese steamers belonging to different daimios, which were lying in the harbour. This was effected, and all junks and all craft carrying armed men were stopped and brought in shore. By these measures the safety of foreigners was assured, and at the same time their adoption was calculated to show the samurai that the Representatives did not confine the responsibility of this grave affair to the Prince of Bizen and his clan, but that

Daimios' steamers seized. they considered it to be a matter which concerned the whole of Japan, and for which the whole of Japan was consequently held to account.

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On the 7th Higashi Kuzé arrived from Kiôto as Arrival of Higashi special Imperial Envoy, and on the following day he Kuzé from Kiôto, with met the Representatives. He opened the proceedings signed by Emperor. by delivering, with considerable solemnity, a document written in characters of unusual size, and bearing a signature which he declared to be the sign-manual of the Emperor, and a seal on which was inscribed the legend, "The Seal of Great Japan." Its contents were as follows:—

[Translation.]

"The Emperor of Japan announces to the Sovereigns of all foreign nations and to their subjects, that permission has been granted to the Shôgun Yoshinobu to return the governing power in accordance with his own request. Henceforward we shall exercise supreme authority both in the internal and external affairs of the country. Consequently the title of Emperor should be substituted for that of Tycoon, which has been hitherto employed in the Treaties. Officers are being appointed by us to conduct foreign affairs. It is desirable that the Representatives of all the Treaty Powers should recognize this announcement.

"(L.S.) Mutsuhito.*

" (Legend Seal of Great Japan).

"February 3, 1868."

* This is the first time in Japanese history that the name of an Emperor appears in his lifetime. The reigning Mikado is designated as Kinjô (or Konjô) Kôtei in lists of the Japanese sovereigns. It was only after his death that he was mentioned by name. This posthumous name is called the okurina.—E. S.

CHAP. V. 1868. Steamers given back, troops.

The result of the interview was that the daimios' steamers were given back, and the foreign Marines and sailors were replaced by a body of Satsuma troops, Marines, & Higashi Kuzé on his side agreeing to lay before the Emperor the terms of the reparation which the Representatives might think it their duty to démand.

Terms of reparation.

Now, the outrage arose from the fact that the Japanese could not endure to see foreigners disregarding the command to prostrate themselves, along with the natives, whilst the train passed by. This was clear from the testimony brought forward, and though fortunately no life was lost, there was every attempt The outrage was none the less, and to take life. nothing short of capital punishment in the case of the man who gave the order could be demanded. With the view also of carrying out their principle of showing that this was a matter affecting the whole of Japan, and not an individual clan, the Representatives determined to require an apology, not from the Prince of Bizen, but from the new central Government of the Mikado.

Accepted.

These demands were recognized to be reasonable, and were agreed to. The Prince of Bizen was called upon by the Government to surrender the offenders, and a proof was at once given of the respect shown to the Imperial authority by a clan, for the men were surrendered without delay or hesitation. How different might it not have been, had this event occurred a few months sooner, in the days of the extinct bakufu! Judicial proceedings were forthwith instituted in the matter, and on the 1st of March Daté, ex-Prince of Uwjaima, mét the Representatives at Hiôgo, made a suitable apology both verbally and in writing on behalf of the Mikado, and stated that Taki Zenzaburô, the

Apology.

officer who gave the order to fire, had been condemned to death by disembowelling himself in the presence of witnesses of the different nationalities, and that Hiki Tatéwaki, the principal officer in the train (whose retainer the other was), was ordered to be kept under arrest for not having restrained his followers from firing, or, as it was expressed, because his orders were not properly enforced.

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The ceremony of hara kiri was carried out the Taki Zenzaburo following evening with due solemnity in the presence commits hara kiri in of seven foreigners, deputed as witnesses by the seven foreign Representatives. The account of this imposing scene officials. has already been published by Mr. Mitford, himself a witness, in the second volume of his "Tales of Old Japan."

The Minister now charged with the chief adminis- Acceptance of treaties by Emperor. tration of foreign affairs was Ninnaji no Miya. declaration in writing was obtained by the Representatives from him, announcing his appointment, and stating that, the Emperor having assumed to himself the treaty-making power, he (the Miya) had received his Majesty's mandate that all the engagements existing up to that time were to be observed.

The Emperor thus took upon himself and his government all the treaties which had been entered into by the bakufu with foreign Powers.

The following proclamation was soon after published in Ôzaka:—

[Translation.]

"Since the time that the late Emperor occupied himself seriously with foreign affairs, the Bakufu, by a long series of errors, has brought us to the present CHAP. V. 1868.

state, and the country has undergone a great change, which has indeed come about unavoidably.

"It has been definitely resolved, after a Court Council, to have Treaties of Amity (with Foreign Powers). The Imperial will is, therefore, that high and low join in unison and abstain from doubting (i.e. feel at ease in their minds) that our defences be made so thorough that the national glory may shine abroad amongst all nations, and that the spirit of the late Emperor be satisfied. Therefore let all, from the Daimios down to the samurai and common people, bearing this in mind, exert themselves with the utmost diligence.

"Note.—The Treaties hitherto concluded by the These shall be remedied after Bakufu contain faults. a free and open discussion of the merits of the different questions. And intercourse with foreign countries shall be carried on in accordance with the public law of the whole world. Bear this, therefore, in mind.

"February 14, 1868.

"(Promulgated from Kiôto.)"

Civil war imminent.

neutrality.

It was clear that there was to be a desperate appeal to arms. The clans of the centre and west of Japan had ranged themselves on what was now the loyal side, and were opposed by the adherents of the Declaration house of Tokugawa in the east and north. Representative issued a notification on the 18th of February, stating that he had been officially informed that hostilities had broken out between "his Majesty the Mikado and the Tycoon," and enjoining a strict and impartial neutrality towards the belligerents.

On the 16th of February Dr. Willis and Mr.

Satow proceeded to Kiôto. I mention this visit particularly because it was the first which had ever particularly because it was the first was the first was the first which had ever particularly because it was the first was the first which had ever particularly because it was the first was t such transient halts could hardly be called visits.

On this occasion an urgent request had been made for a European doctor to attend upon the wounded men who were lying in Kiôto without any medical assistance at hand, and Dr. Willis of the British Legation (who had already succoured the wounded troops of the ex-shôgun at Ôzaka), had been especially chosen by the Japanese already favourably known to them. And their confidence was not misplaced. Then and oftentimes since has that large-hearted man and scientific surgeon been the means of alleviating the sufferings of Japanese, whether disabled by wounds or cast down by disease, whether on the field of battle or in hospital; his name is known far and wide in Japan, and he has spared no pains and shirked no labour in the calling of which he is a distinguished ornament.

The two Englishmen were well treated in Kiôto, and were allowed free access to all parts of the city; they were visited by the Prince of Satsuma himself, and on their departure Dr. Willis, besides profuse thanks for his services, was offered a considerable pecuniary remuneration, which he of course civilly but firmly refused to accept.

An interesting memorial was presented, in the Memorial of nobles in names of six nobles of as many clans, to the Govern-favour of friendly relations with foreigners.

These nobles were: the ex-Princes of Echizen and Tosa, and the Princes

CHAP. V.

of Satsuma, Chôshiu, Geishiu, and Higo. It referred particularly to the question of foreign intercourse, admitted the mistake of closing the country, and advised that relations of amity should be formed with foreigners, whereby the deficiencies in their own knowledge could be repaired, and an enduring government established for future ages. To this end foreigners were to be no longer designated by words of contempt, and their Representatives were to be bidden to Court in the manner prescribed by other nations.

Favourable answer.

A favourable answer was returned by the Government.

CHAPTER VI.

1868.

Return of Representatives to Ozaka.—Invitation to Kiôto.— Murder of French Sailors by Tosa Troops at Sakai.—M. Roches strikes his flag, and returns to Hiôgo, followed by his colleagues.—The eleven bodies given up.—Demands for reparation accepted.—Simultaneous visit of Dr. Willis and Mr. Mitford to ex-Prince of Tosa at Kiôto.—His message to M. Roches.—Sentence of hara kiri carried out on eleven out of twenty men in presence of French officers.—Apologies, and indemnity.

On the 5th of March the Representatives returned to CHAP. Ozaka. They found the city perfectly quiet and Return of Representatives to almost uninjured. The castle, with the exception of tives to the outer walls, was entirely destroyed by fire, and many buildings in the neighbourhood had shared the same fate. In point of fact, nothing else could have well been expected. The eastern troops had simply evacuated the city, and the loyal force had taken their The merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, and other unharmed inhabitants had but one idea, viz. to save their lives and their property, and those being secure, they recked little who won the day. As to the burning of the castle, that is an everyday incident in the history of civil war in Japan, and the wonder

CHAP. VI. 1868.

rather is that the city itself was not fired in many places.

Invitation to Kiôto.

An invitation soon came to each of the Representatives to visit the Mikado at Kiôto. This was delivered by Daté, ex-Prince of Uwajima, and Higashi Kuzé. It was accepted by the British and Dutch Representatives, and declined by the other three.

That the Mikado of Japan, who claims to be descended from the sun goddess, and in whose person a peculiar odour of sanctity was considered to exist, should voluntarily invite to his palace at Kiôto the Envoys of nations who had hitherto been looked upon as outer barbarians, and intercourse with whom was a profane thing, was indeed a great step in advance. No foreigner had ever yet crossed the Imperial threshold, or looked upon the face of the sacred Emperor of Japan. It was a proof that a new order of things was inaugurated, and gave good hopes for the future.

Murder of French sailors by Tosa soldiers. Relations with the new Government were thus becoming closer, and everything wore a friendly aspect, when on the evening of the 8th of March the unwelcome intelligence arrived that another dreadful outrage had been perpetrated on foreigners. In this case the sufferers were a boat's crew of Frenchmen, and the Japanese who fired upon them were retainers of the Tosa clan. The ex-Prince of Uwajima happened to be dining with M. Roches when the news arrived, unaccompanied by details, and he left the house at once, after promising that no time should be lost in investigating the matter, and no effort spared to punish the offenders, if offenders there were.

M. Roches strikes his flag and retires to Eleven o'clock, however, of the following morning arrived, and M. Roches, having meanwhile been fur-

nished with details of the massacre of a number of sailors belonging to the corvette "Dupleix," and Hiôgo, receiving no satisfactory communication from the his Mikado's Ministers, struck his flag, and demanding colleagues. the surrender of the bodies of his countrymen, dead or alive, within twenty-four hours, he retired to Hiôgo. He was followed by all his colleagues, who at once determined to make common cause with him, and to break off relations entirely with the Government, until due reparation had been made to the French Minister.

This course of action had its effect, the bodies of Murdered men's the missing men were given up, and on the 11th one bodies are given up. officer and ten sailors were buried at Hiôgo, being followed to the grave by all the Representatives, and by a large gathering of officers of the different nationalities. The unfortunate victims had proceeded in the Details.

steam-launch of the "Dupleix" to the port of Sakai, a town about six miles from Ôzaka, to which free access was allowed by treaty. Two of the men had landed, and had crossed a small bridge, when they were met by a two-sworded Japanese, who requested them to return to the other side; they hesitated, and the Japanese officer, evidently not comprehending what they said, gave a shout, upon which a number of soldiers appeared, rushed up to the Frenchmen, and seized them. One of the latter, however, broke away, and ran off towards the launch. The Japanese soldiers, now numbering from sixty to seventy men, armed some with rifles and others with long hooks and sticks, followed in pursuit, and pushing aside the crowd of inhabitants who were standing about, opened a deadly fire on the whole crew, who were

shot down without power of defending themselves.

CHAP. VI. 1868. Demands for reparation accepted.

The demands for reparation made by M. Roches, and supported by the other Representatives, were as follows:--

- 1.—The public execution of the guilty men, leaving it to the Government to decide upon the number, in which, however, the officers who were in command should at all events be included.
- 2.—An indemnity of 150,000 dollars to be paid for the benefit of the relations of the murdered men and of the survivors.
- 3.—An apology from the Minister for Foreign Affairs on behalf of the Government.
 - 4.—An apology from the Prince of Tosa.
- 5.—The exclusion of Tosa troops from the open ports.

For the acceptance of these demands a period of three days was granted from the 12th of March, the date of their presentation. Accordingly, on the evening of the 15th, the Prince of Uwajima, who had proceeded to Kiôto on this business, returned to Hiôgo and informed M. Roches that all his demands would be complied with, and that two officers and eighteen soldiers of the Tosa detachment were sentenced to die by hara kiri on the following day.

Simultaneous visit of Dr. Willis and Mr. Mitford to ex-Prince of message to M. Roches.

It was a curious coincidence that, on the day previous to the massacre, Dr. Willis, accompanied by Mr. Mitford, had gone up to Kiôto to give medical Tosa at Kiôto. His assistance to the ex-Prince of Tosa. When the news of the attack on the Frenchmen arrived in the capital, these two Englishmen were thus in the midst, and completely in the power, of a number of the very clan whose comrades were reeking with the blood of foreigners, for the murder of whom reparation was being demanded. The position, as described to me

by those most nearly concerned, was anything but agreeable, and although there was satisfactory evidence from the language held by the superior officers, and by many of the clansmen, that they entertained no sympathy for the soldiers who had fired on the Frenchmen, and did not desire to screen them from justice, still there was many a scowling face and much ill-suppressed muttering among the retainers about the Tosa yashiki. But the ex-prince, though confined to his bed by illness, requested Mr. Mitford to come to his room before that gentleman's departure for Ôzaka on the 11th, and charged him with a particular message for the French Minister, which he begged might also be communicated to the other Representatives. Mr. Mitford took down the terms of the message, and he has been kind enough to allow me to copy them. They ran as follows:—

"Although I am without precise information, I am aware that the affair at Sakai was most wrong and unjustifiable. It is an affair of which I certainly had not the slightest cognizance; my one wish has been to entertain friendly relations with foreigners. The act of violence which my retainers have committed has caused me to feel deeply ashamed. I am aware that foreign nations must feel grievously incensed. It hurts me to think that my people should have interfered with the Mikado in his projects for civilizing the country. I pray that Tosa alone, and not the whole country, may be rendered responsible for this act. I have been prevented by illness from going to Ôzaka to punish the offenders myself, but I have sent two of my karôs with three officers of rank to represent me, taking with them 160 men (samurai), with orders to deliver up to justice the guilty men. I

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beg you to communicate the expression of my sentiments to the French Minister in particular, and to the foreign Representatives in general. Although the punishment of the criminals is a matter for the Government of the country to deal with, I am anxious that the thoughts of my heart should be made known to the French Minister and to the other Representatives."

M. Roches, with the "Vénus" and "Dupleix," moved up to Sakai on the 16th, the day fixed for the execution of the Tosa men, which was appointed to take place in a temple more than a mile from the spot where the Frenchmen landed.

Sentence of hara kiri carried out on eleven in presence of French officers.

To this temple Captain du Petit-Thouars and several other French officers proceeded. A particular out of twentymen, place was set apart for them, the twenty men were brought in, and the awful ceremony was duly commenced, everything being conducted in the punctilious manner which had been so conspicuous, a short time previously, in the case of the Bizen man.

> But when eleven of the condemned, the same number as the murdered men, had used their dirks against themselves, and eleven heads, severed from the bodies, had fallen to the ground, and the day was waning, Captain du Petit-Thouars begged that the lives of the remaining nine should be spared. To this the officer in command said that he could not accede without a written or personal request from the French Minister. He was on board the "Vénus," three miles from the shore, and a painful delay ensued until a written request for the suspension of the executions was obtained from him. The nine survivors were then led away alive, and were subsequently reprieved by the Emperor.

The apologies demanded by M. Roches were duly CHAP. made, and the indemnity was paid by the Imperial Apologies Government, and when the ex-Prince of Tosa subse-nity. quently asked the French Minister how long his soldiers were to be excluded from the open ports, M. Roches is said to have gracefully left it to him to decide, adding that he would be the best judge as to when they could be trusted.

CHAPTER VII.

1868.

Three Representatives return to Yokohama.—The other three proceed to Kiôto for audiences of Emperor.—Attack on Sir H. Parkes's procession by two Japanese.—One killed and the other taken.—Wounding of escort.—Miyéda Shigéru degraded and decapitated.—Sir H. Parkes's audience.— Evidence as to attack.—Swords presented by British to Gotô and Nakai.—Decree respecting Samurai attacking Foreigners.—Old notices of Bakufu replaced by those of Imperial Government.

Three Representaproceed to Kiôto for

Emperor.

The American, Italian, and Prussian Representatives had now returned to Yokohama.

After the Sakai anan was secure,
to Yokohama. The to an audience of the Emperor was renewed to the
other three After the Sakai affair was settled, the invitation British, French, and Dutch Representatives. audiences of Government had just given such sincere proof of its desire to cultivate friendly relations with foreigners, and had shown such readiness to meet the demands for reparation made by M. Roches, that the latter felt it would be an ungracious act on his part, and might be construed as a slight towards the sovereign of the country, if he were now to refuse the renewed invitation.

The three Representatives last named, therefore,

proceeded to Kiôto, being treated with every consideration on the road. Sir H. Parkes and M. Van Polsbroek arrived on the 21st of March, and M. Roches on the following morning. Spacious temples were prepared for them, and all the arrangements were satisfactorily made for the ceremony of reception, which was fixed for the 23rd of March.

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In the streets crowds of people, moved by a natural curiosity, thronged together to gaze upon the foreigners with their strange faces and novel attire, but everything wore an aspect of peace and quiet, and nothing occurred to foreshadow the tragic event which was to take place on the morrow.

The audiences of the French and Dutch Representatives on the 23rd passed by without any hindrance, but that of Sir H. Parkes was prevented in the most unexpected manner.

The British, Envoy left his residence (temple of Chi-on-in) at the appointed hour, the procession being formed in the following order:—First, the mounted escort of former members of the London police, consisting of Inspector Peacock and eleven men; then the Envoy, followed by Messrs. Mitford and Satow, Dr. Willis, some other members of her Majesty's Legation, and lastly the guard of H.M.'s 9th Regiment of fortyeight men under Lieutenants Bradshaw and Bruce. A numerous native guard both preceded and followed the procession. A Japanese officer, Nakai Kôzô, rode at the head with the Inspector, and Gotô Shôjirô, of the Foreign Department, rode by Sir H. Parkes's side.

They had not proceeded far before some confusion Attack on Sir H. was observed among the escort, but Sir H. Parkes Parkes's procession was observed among the escort, but Sir H. Parkes procession by two could not perceive the cause, as they were turning the Japanese.

One killed and the other taken.

CHAP. VII. 1868. Wounding of escort.

from view. The next moment he saw a Japanese rush round the same corner pursued by two of the escort, cutting madly, and with fearful rapidity, at every one he could reach. Sir H. Parkes called out to the guard behind to stop him as he rushed down the line, and looking in front he saw Gotô dashing with uplifted sword at another Japanese close to the corner already mentioned. This ruffian was ultimately killed by Nakai. The account he gave to me himself one day at the Legation in Yedo was as follows:—

"I saw a man running down the line cutting at one man after another. I jumped off my horse, drew my sword, and rushed after him; he turned and we engaged; he cut me on the head, then Gotô came up and dealt him a blow which felled him to the ground. Unfortunately Gotô's sword-hilt, which was of lacquer, slipped from his hands, and I had to cope with the fellow alone. I could only see out of one eye, the other being covered with blood, but I kept chopping at him, and after about ten blows I managed to cut his head off. I then took the head and showed it to Sir H. Parkes."

It appears that when the escort began to turn the corner of the street two Japanese sprang upon them, and commenced dealing blows with their long swords as furiously and rapidly as they could strike, so that actually out of the eleven men nine were wounded; a soldier of the 9th and Sir H. Parkes's native groom also received wounds, and five horses were severely cut.

The second assailant was secured alive by Mr. Mitford, after having been bayoneted and shot severely. He and all the wounded who could not walk or sit on their horses were carried to the temple

of Chi-on-in, to which the whole procession returned. CHAP Later in the day several high Ministers arrived direct from Court in their dresses of state to express the High Ministers Emperor's deep regret at what had occurred.

1868. Emperor's

Sir H. Parkes told the Ministers that he should leave the affair in the hands of the Mikado's Government; that he considered that a graver outrage had been committed upon the Mikado than upon himself, and that the Government would know how to vindicate the honour of their sovereign, which had been so deeply insulted.

The Ministers, in reply, reproached themselves with not having taken better measures for the Envoy's security, and deplored the disgrace which attached to themselves for an outrage committed on a foreign Representative specially invited by the Emperor to Kiôto.

Sir H. Parkes recurred to arguments previously used by him with some members of the Government, as to the necessity of an enactment being speedily issued which should attach the penalty of an igno-Necessity of minious death to all samurai who committed murderous attacks upon foreigners, instead of allowing killing foreigners them to die an honourable death by disembowelment. an igno-It was also necessary for the Government to make death, and of an known by a proclamation, which could always be kept imperial proclamabefore the eyes of all classes, that the Emperor really favour of foreigners. desired to cultivate friendly relations with foreigners; and it was the duty of that Government to eradicate the spirit of hostility towards us, to which so many had fallen victims, and which was fostered by the erroneous idea entertained among a certain class, that in attacking a foreigner they were doing the Emperor service.

CHAP. 1868. Apology of Government.

On the 24th a letter of apology, signed by the Court nobles Sanjô, Iwakura, and Tokudaiji, and by the ex-Prince of Echizen, was received by Sir H. Parkes, and later he was visited by the three firstnamed members of the Government, together with Higashi Kuzé and other officials. They brought a copy of the following sentence already passed on the wounded Japanese prisoner, Miyéda Shigéru:—

[Translation.]

Sentence of degradation

"Yesterday, the 23rd of March, as the English Representative was proceeding to the Palace, having on Miyéda Shigéru. Previously conspired with your accomplices, you attacked English soldiers attached to the Representative with naked swords, and inflicted wounds upon them. By this you not only caused delay in his attendance at the Palace, but also interfered with his Majesty's foreign relations. For the heinousness of this outrage you are deprived of your sword, your name is erased from the list of samurai, and after being publicly put to death by the sword, on the 27th instant, your head will be exposed during the space of three days."

> This was as it should be. The criminal was first to be degraded and then to die by the common executioner, and the Ministers gave assurances that this should be the law in future; that a proclamation of the character suggested by Sir H. Parkes should speedily be issued, and that it should be promulgated in the formal and permanent manner in use for standing enactments, namely, by inscription on boards in conspicuous places in their towns and villages.

Sir H. Parkes's

The audience of the Emperor was then fixed for the following day, and came off without further incident. The wounded prisoner had been kindly. cared for by the foreigners, much to his astonishment. The result of judicial examinations was that five men in all were implicated, and the story was told in this wise.

CHAP. VII. 1868.

The wounded prisoner, who in the judicial exa-Evidence as to attack. mination was called Saegusa, and not Miyéda Shigéru, deposed that he was twenty-nine years of age, born in Yamato, had been twice a priest of a Buddhist sect, and having taken service in a corps raised by a certain officer, who was enrolled in the Shimpei, or Mikado's body-guard,* he and Shingaku Misawo, the man who was killed by Nakai, as well as three other men, who were also examined, and belonged to the same corps, were all quartered together. A few days before the attack, during a conversation in the barracks, Shigéru said, "There is a good deal of talk about the foreigners going to Court in a few days, and, considering the views I have always entertained, this is more than enough to rouse one's temper, and I should like to obstruct their going." He thereupon urged the three to join him, but eventually they all refused, as "the matter of the foreigners going to Court was sanctioned by the Mikado."

On the 23rd of March, all five being together at a house of entertainment, became somewhat excited

* The Shimpei were a body of men composed of various They were recruited from the gôshi (a species of two-sworded gentry living on their own land from generation to generation, owning no allegiance to any feudal lord, and holding rank between the ordinary samurai and the peasantry), from rônins, and from individuals who had left the priesthood, finding the profession of arms more congenial to their feelings. They considered themselves to be especially imbued with the ancient Japanese spirit, and their creed was devotion to the Mikado and death to the foreign barbarians.

CHAP. VII.

with saké, and Shigéru spoke in his former style about wishing to interrupt the foreigners on their way to Court. Two of the others did their best to dissuade him; but Misawo shared in his opinion, and the latter perceiving this, took him into another room, where they talked the matter over.

Eventually these two left the house, and as they were strolling along the streets they caught sight of foreigners, and thereupon seemed to have been seized with a sudden fit of frenzy, and they separated to the right and left, as if to see the procession, which was that of the British Envoy.

Shigéru deposed: "I on the left cut at the first foreigner, and afterwards at those that came within my reach. Checked by the foreigners, and my sword struck from my grasp, preferring to put an end to my existence with my sword rather than fall into their hands, I rushed into a neighbouring house, but finding that I had lost my dirk was unable to effect my purpose. Here I was struck by a bullet fired by the guard, and made prisoner. In the flurry and excitement of the affair I did not in the least know how matters had gone with Misawo."

Shigéru was degraded and decapitated, and the three men above mentioned, who seemed to have endeavoured to dissuade him and his companion from attempting the life of foreigners, were condemned to perpetual exile. Though aware of this attempt to obstruct a great and important ceremony, they had, as the sentence ran, abstained from reporting it to the Government, thus committing, from private considerations, an act tending to cause a serious misfortune to the Empire.

It may be mentioned that though none of the

escort died, two were so disabled as to have to return to England, and the wounded men received due compensation from the Japanese Government.

CHAP. VII. 1868.

As a mark of their appreciation of the courageous swords presented conduct of Gotô and Nakai, her Majesty's Govern- by British Government sent to each of them a richly-mounted sword of Gotô and Nakai. honour.

Sir H. Parkes had returned to Yokohama, and had left Mr. Mitford at Ôzaka. Before his departure he had obtained from the Japanese Ministers a copy of the following important decree, dated March 28, and had published it at Hiôgo to British subjects:-

"It having been decreed, in consequence of the Decree respecting late reformation by which the Monarchical Govern-samurai attacking ment is restored, and in order to the maintenance of just principles by the Imperial Court, that his Majesty should have relations with foreign countries, the Imperial Court will direct those relations, and will fulfil the Treaties in accordance with the rules of international law. It is therefore ordered that the whole nation do obey his Majesty's will, and act in accordance therewith.

"All persons in future guilty of murdering foreigners, or of committing any acts of violence towards them, will be not only acting in opposition to his Majesty's express orders, and be the cause of national misfortune, but will also be committing the heinous offence of causing the national dignity and good faith to suffer in the eyes of the Treaty Powers with whom his Majesty has declared himself bound by relations of amity. Such offenders shall be punished in proportion to the gravity of the offence, their names, if they be samurai, being erased from the roll. And it is hereby rigidly decreed that all persons shall obey this ImCHAP. VII. 1868.

Published after some pressure.

perial order, and abstain from all such acts of violence."

Mr. Mitford had some trouble in obtaining the publication of the sentences passed on the criminals, and of the above decree, but ultimately the promises in this respect were fulfilled. It was easy to perceive, and indeed it was admitted, that the members of the new foreign department had much difficulty in impressing their liberal views upon officials in other departments, who were disinclined towards the publication of any decree which would appear, in the eyes of the people, a humiliating concession to the "barbarians," and a submission to their dictation. They proposed, but in vain, that it should be kept back till it could be inserted in a new code which the judicial department was said to be compiling.

The decree was ultimately widely promulgated. The standing laws of the bakufu, which were posted upon boards in certain conspicuous places in every town and village, were removed in order to be replaced by those of the Imperial Government. Among the new enactments was one which ran as follows:—

Decree against "evil sect, called Christian."

"The evil sect, called Christian, is strictly prohibited. Suspicious persons should be reported to the proper officers, and rewards will be given."

CHAPTER VIII.

1868.

The Emperor takes an oath to form a deliberative Assembly.— He proceeds to Ôzaka, and holds naval and military reviews.

"The Castle of Nijô," says the Kinsé Shiriaku, "had been converted into an office for the Dajôkan Emperor's (Council of State), where its members met to decide form a deliberative on the measures to be adopted. The Mikado pro-Assembly. ceeded thither in person (April 6), and, in the presence of the assembled Court nobles and the territorial princes, took an oath. By this oath he promised that a deliberative Assembly should be formed, and all measures be decided by public opinion; that the uncivilized customs of former times should be broken through, and the impartiality and justice displayed in the workings of nature adopted as a basis of action; and that intellect and learning should be sought for throughout the world, in order to establish the foundations of the Empire. A discussion then ensued as to the best means of developing the resources of Yezo." *

* For a translation of this debate, vide the Times of August 18, 1868. The Pall Mall Gazette of the same date also published it from the Times.

CHAP. VIII. leading samurai as to formation of a deliberative Assembly.

With respect to the formation of a deliberative Opinion of a Assembly, one of the most eminent of the samurai who contributed essentially to the restoration of the governing power to the Mikado spoke to Mr. Satow and me, one evening in 1871, as follows:—"At the moment of the restoration, the leaders of the party which had overthrown the shôgunate felt convinced that the only way to allay the jealousies hitherto existing between several of the most powerful clans, and to ensure a solid and lasting union of conflicting interests, was to search for the nearest approach to an ideal constitution among those of Western countries. They in consequence established the constitution of 1868, together with a kind of House of Assembly, intended as an imitation of the representative institutions common in Europe. idea current was that the opinion of the majority was the only criterion of a public measure."

The mistake here made was found out, and the gentleman from whom I have been quoting was right when he said, as he did on the same occasion, that no nation can be expected to advance continually on the path of progress without a check occurring now and then, i.e. that the too hasty adoption of liberal ideas must tend to reaction. Wise words, which the rulers of Japan will do well to lay to heart!

The samurai for this Assembly were nominally to be selected by their respective daimios, but in reality, as might be expected, they were selected by the leading retainers of those daimios, and were thus, in fact, representatives of the feelings of the military class in each clan.

On the 13th of April the Emperor proceeded to

Ôzaka. After his arrival he reviewed from the shore VIII. six Japanese war-steamers in the roads. Subsetimetric proceeds to quently his Majesty was present at a small military proceeds to loads naval and military proceeds and military proceeds to holds naval and military previews.

CHAPTER IX.

1868.

Difficulties of new Government as to foreign policy, which they are obliged to favour.—Original programme: 1. To restore governing power to Mikado. 2. To expel Foreigners.—New Government existed through sacred name of Mikado.

CHAP.
IX.
Difficulties as to foreign policy.

In memorials and in documents issued by the new Government, the subject of foreign relations was now conspicuously brought forward. It appears opportune to examine shortly the position of this Government, and the difficulties with which they had to contend in adopting a foreign policy repugnant to the majority of their countrymen.

Bakufuonly advocate of foreign In the earlier days of foreign intercourse the only advocates of its continuance were members or favourers of the bakufu. That Government had concluded the treaties, and enjoyed whatever benefits resulted from the new trade, to the exclusion of the great daimios. The ruling spirits of the clans, which were not directly subject to the shôgun, hated the foreigners as barbarians and inferior people, and this indeed was the sentiment of the whole body of the samurai. These same clans also hated the bakufu, as a usurping power. Again, the Court, without an

Clans and Court desired expulsion of foreigners.

exception, held the foreigners in aversion and con tempt, and would listen to no other language than that which advocated their expulsion from the sacred soil of Japan. Hence the bakufu was ordered to expel them. The clans who were most active in displaying a hostile feeling towards the intruders were three in number: first Satsuma, then Chôshiu, then Tosa. It will be recollected (vol. i., p. 218) that in 1862 the influence of these three clans had become predominant in Kiôto, and they directed the policy of the Court. Then came the bombardment of Kagoshima and the fight at Shimonoséki. This opened the Satsuma eyes of the clans of Satsuma and Chôshiu to the Chôshiu change superiority of the foreigners, and they changed their policy. policy. The result was a combination of the leaders of the three clans (mostly clever samurai) with certain Court nobles, whom they had converted to their way of thinking, and a new programme was arranged.

CHAP. 1868.

Now, the original policy of these clans, as well as Two objects originally. of the other opponents of the bakufu, embraced two governing power to objects. The first and leading object, which had Emperor. naturally always been more or less present to their minds, was the desire of overturning the bakufu, and, rather than substitute another dynasty for that of Tokugawa, these clever men, who pulled the wires and were desirous of escaping from a subordinate position, meditated the restoration of the governing power into the hands of the Mikado. It is a mistake to suppose that this notion was of recent creation. More than a hundred and fifty years ago * it was

^{* 1715} is the date of the completion of the work in question. A copy was presented to the bakufu in 1720.—E.S. Vide vol. i., p. 2.

CHAP. IX. 1868. Mitsukuni's book.

2. To expel foreigners.

broached in a history of Japan, contained in one hundred volumes, and published by Mitsukuni, Prince This work had been extensively read Mito. throughout Japan, its leading idea had germinated in the minds of men, and had grown in strength with every succeeding generation. The second object was the expulsion of the foreigners. But this, as has been seen, was renounced, at least for the present, and the exponents of the new policy were found making advances to the diplomatic Representatives of Treaty Powers, with the object of weakening the bakufu, against which all their intrigues were now turned.

New Government friendly to foreigners.

The shôgunate fell, and we at once find the members of the new Government, or at all events those with whom the diplomatists came in contact, whilst frankly confessing their previous hatred of foreigners, eager to enter into friendly relations with them, in the name of the young Emperor, who now possessed that governing power which had been finally wrested from the hands of his ancestor by the great Yoritomo.

Existed through

. But it must be clearly borne in mind that the sacred name advocates of such friendly relations were still few in They held high offices in the Government, it is true, and they acted in the name of the divine Mikado; this latter fact indeed was their only strength, and it is not too much to affirm that for some time that Government in reality existed simply by the halo surrounding his sacred name, and that their decrees were respected and accepted by the nation simply from being issued in the name of him who, then invisible to almost all, was undoubtedly believed to be divinely descended, and was the object of blind veneration throughout Japan.

CHAP.

1868.

"What," said one of the most eminent men in that Government to me, "was it that enabled a few Court nobles to gather around the sovereign the great clans,* and ultimately to overturn the shôgunate? It was simply the name of the Mikado. There was no such feeling toward the shôgun, in the days when he wielded the power, and although the daimios were then obliged to come up to Yedo at stated intervals, they did so against their will, and they returned to their principalities discontented and ashamed of their lot. They reverenced the Mikado alone, because of that divine origin, to which the shôgun could not pretend."

It is, of course, natural that there should still Opposition of Conserva-have been a Conservative party in Kiôto. The old and and and armedia. adherents of the deceased Emperor, who would rather that the whole of Japan had been burnt to a cinder than that foreigners should obtain a lasting footing in his country, still mustered in strength. And the samurai of many a clan, who had been nursed in hatred to the ugly barbarians, the rônins and swashbucklers, who had clamoured to be led against the intruders, could not understand the change of policy which had come over the Court and the Government of the day. They had assisted the Court and clans to overthrow the bakufu, and that object having been gained, what was the meaning of this truckling to the foreign dogs? Why were they not led out in battle array to sweep the foreigners into the sea, and thus gain the second object in the original programme?

* It was rather the clans who converted the Court nobles to their altered policy. But it is a Court noble who speaks, and I cite his words as illustrative of the power assigned to the mere name of the Mikado.

CHAP. 1X. 1868.

I am anticipating somewhat in this, for although the bakufu was now abolished, adherents of its cause were still in arms, and it was rather after the civil war was ended that such language would be familiar in the mouth of many a discontented *samurai*.

But my object is to show the precarious position in which the new Government were placed, and the difficulties with which they soon had to contend. They were but a handful of men; they had thrown themselves as it were into the arms of the foreign Representatives, and had professed the greatest desire to be on friendly terms with the Treaty Powers. They had, however, no experience in dealing with foreigners, and the measures they were obliged to adopt, and the demands they were obliged to satisfy, offended and enraged the Conservative party at Kiôto, as well as the great majority of the military class.

All this will be seen more clearly as we proceed, and we shall be called upon, I think, to admire the courageous manner in which this handful grappled with the difficulties of their position, and carried through reforms of the most radical nature. Without the authority of the sacred Emperor, and without the power of issuing decrees in his name, they never could have succeeded in their task. I do not here touch upon the question as to whether the reforms which have been made in the last few years have all been wise or well-timed—whether changes have or-have not been effected hurriedly and without due thought. This is not the moment for discussing these weighty questions. But I crave an indulgence, which has not always been awarded, for these men, who had set themselves to accomplish a task surrounded with diffi culties, the extent of which few, if any, foreigners could at the time possibly appreciate.

CHAPTER X.

1868.

Kéiki retires to Uyéno.—Advance of Imperialists to Yedo.— Ultimatum accepted by Kéiki, who leaves for Mito.—Temporary disappearance of ex-Shôgun's fleet.—Warlike petition of Aidzu.—Memorial of Sendai.

The loyal army was meanwhile marching to Yedo by the two great roads from the Emperor's capital. Keiki Kéiki, says the Kinsé Shiriaku, repented of his late Uyéno. conduct, and animated by a spirit of respectful obedience, refused to entertain the proposals of some of his allies. He summoned Katsu Awa * and Ôkubo Ichiô† to a private chamber, and then addressed a letter to his retainers, prohibiting them from resisting the Imperial forces, and adding that those who did so would be pointing their weapons against himself. Immediately afterwards he quitted the castle, and withdrew into voluntary retirement in the monastery of Kuanyéiji, at Uyéno. Many of

- * He had been a Vice-Minister of Marine, and was actually in command of the Tokugawa forces.
- + Formerly a Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, but out of office for many years on account of his leanings towards the Kiôto party.—E. S.

CHAP. X. 1868. his retainers, however, began to collect troops with the intention of acting independently of him, and fighting ensued in various provinces.

Advance of Imperialists.

Towards the end of March the advanced guard of the Imperial troops, consisting of nearly 1000 men belonging to the clans of Satsuma, Owari, Uwajima, &c., crossed the Hakoné pass, and halted at Odawara. The main body of the army under the command of Arisugawa no Miya, and variously estimated at from 2000 to 7000 men, had arrived at the castle town of Sumpu in Suruga, on the tôkaidô. Kéiki, worn out by trouble and anxiety, was awaiting his Imperial Highness's commands in a small room at Üyéno. Rinnôji no Miya, the Mikado's representative there, and the Shittô * Gakuô-In, moved by pity for him, proceeded to Sumpu and begged for mercy, while Kazu Miya and Tensho-In t also sent some of their women as messengers along the tôkaidô. These envoys followed each other in rapid succession.

In the beginning of April the van of the troops approached close to Yedo, and on the 4th of that month the forts in the bay were handed over to the Imperialists. On the 25th the Mikado's envoys made their entry into the Castle of Yedo, and they delivered the following ultimatum to the chief of the Tokugawa clan:—

Ultimatum.

- "Article 1. Since the twelvemonth of last year (January, 1868) Kéiki has practised deceit upon the Imperial Court. In aggravation of this he has used arms against the Imperial capital, and for several days
- * An office corresponding to the soba-yônin, or man of business, of a daimio.—E. S.
 - † Widows of the shôguns Iyémochi and Iyésada.--E. S.

continued to fire against the Imperial standard. The Government forces were despatched to punish him for these flagrant offences. Upon this he displayed a sincerely obedient and submissive temper, and acknowledged his fault. His ancestors in governing the country for more than two hundred years have performed much good service, and the late Dainagon of Mito * also for many years diligently served the Imperial cause. His Majesty is therefore graciously pleased to take these things into account, and the following conditions being faithfully performed, he will extend his clemency so that the name and family of Tokugawa shall continue, and Kéiki's sentence of death being commuted, he shall retire to Mito, and live there in seclusion.

- "Article 2. The castle to be evacuated and handed over to the Owari clan.
- "Article 3. Vessels of war and firearms to be surrendered; a suitable portion of these shall be afterwards returned.
- "Article 4. Retainers resident in the castle to retire outside, to remain in seclusion.
- "Article 5. The persons who assisted Kéiki in his rebellion are guilty of flagrant offence; they deserve the severest punishment, but by his Majesty's special clemency their lives are spared. A report must be made of those punished. The Imperial Court will deal with those who possess revenues above ten thousand koku."

The document containing these terms was handed over by Hashimoto and Yanagiwara † in the obiroma

- * Kéiki's father, Nariaki. The ranks of Dainagon and Chiunagon have since been abolished.
 - † The Mikado's envoys.

CHAP. X. 1868. CHAP. X. 1868.

(chief hall of audience in the castle) to Tayasu Chiunagon, and the following verbal announcement was added:—

"The deceitful conduct of Kéiki towards the Imperial Court, ending at last in the most infamous actions, has deeply grieved the Imperial bosom. In consequence, his Majesty has made war upon him in person, and forces have been sent against him by sea and land from all sides. Upon this, Kéiki becoming repentant and submissive, his protestations of sincerity were permitted. His Majesty, with superabundant clemency, has therefore decreed these terms, which must be respectfully accepted. By the 3rd of May these conditions must be fully carried out.

"The time allowed being perfectly ample, no petitions or prayers will be listened to. His Majesty is fully determined that his dignity and clemency shall both be maintained. Let there be instant acceptance and no disputing."

He (Tayasu) answered that he received, with the highest respect, the orders thus communicated to him; that he would inform Kéiki of them, and that acceptance should be given in.

Ultimatum accepted by Kéiki, who leaves for Mito.

The conditions contained in this ultimatum were accepted by Kéiki, who left for Mito on the 3rd of May. The delivery of the Castle of Yedo to the Owari clan was most distasteful to the men of Tokugawa, for though the two houses were connected by blood, the clans had become bitter enemies. Most of the Tokugawa soldiers, however, submitted, but about 2500 infantry fled away to the north.

Temporary disappearance of exshôgun's fleet. The vessels composing the ex-shôgun's fleet were to have been given over on the 3rd of May, but the violence of the weather had prevented the transfer, and on the following morning they had disappeared from the anchorage off Shinagawa. They subsequently returned, but unfortunately the negotiations for their surrender were not successful, and the Imperial authorities had not a naval force at command sufficient to compel submission.

CHAP. 1868.

The position of the Government was this. They Position of Governhad to hold Yedo, at a distance of some 350 miles ment. from their base at Kiôto, and with a population by no means favourably disposed. They had also to keep in check the guerilla bands which were continually harassing their troops in the neighbourhood, and they had to defend themselves against a coalition which was being formed in the north. The Aidzu clan had Aidzu clan had had retired already retired to their own mountainous country, after having dismantled their yashikis in Yedo, and petition. they had presented a petition to the Government, manifesting an evident determination to have recourse to arms. Other clans of more or less note joined the men of Aidzu, and the numbers of the rebels were increased by a quantity of Tokugawa malcontents. The Prince of Sendai having been charged with the Memorial of Sendai. subjugation of Aidzu, had already, in the month of March, sent to the Emperor a memorial in which arguments were brought forward in favour of a conciliatory and peaceful policy.

CHAPTER XI.

1868.

Arrival of Higashi Kuzé and Prince of Hizen at Yokohama, to take charge of the Port.—Presentation of Letter of Credence from the Queen to the Mikado.—Celebration of the Queen's Birthday.—Return of Emperor to Kiôto.

Arrival of Higashi Kuzé and Prince of Hizen to take charge of port of Yokohama.

On the 9th of May Higashi Kuzé and the Prince of Hizen, after many delays, arrived at Yokohama, authorized to take charge of the port in the name of the Mikado. On the 12th they relieved the bakufu functionaries of the duties of the local administration, and the foreign guards were replaced by those of the new Government.*

Letter of credence from the Queen to the Mikado.

The credentials which Sir H. Parkes received on his appointment as her Majesty's Representative in Japan were addressed to the "Tycoon," but had never been presented. In them that personage was described as "his Majesty," and Japan was spoken of as his dominions. This had, of course, been long proved to be incorrect, and at Sir H. Parkes's suggestion a new

* I may mention that I arrived at Yokohama on the 10th of May, to succeed Mr. Locock as Secretary of Legation. Much, therefore, which remains to be related came under my personal knowledge.

letter was sent to him, accrediting him, not to the Court of the "Tycoon," but to that of the Mikado.

1868.

On the 22nd of May this letter of credence was Its presented at Ôzaka, by the British Envoy, in due of Queen's birthday was style; and on the 23rd the Queen's birthday was celebrated. A number of Japanese of high rank, amongst whom were Court and territorial nobles, some of whom had certainly never mixed with foreigners before, perhaps hardly seen any, came down the river to the spot where the British squadron was lying, and were regaled by Vice-Admiral Sir H. Keppel on board the "Rodney."

On the 28th the Emperor set out on his return to Emperor to The submission of Kéiki was publicly assigned as the ground for this step, but it was probably due to other reasons as well. It might be dangerous for his Majesty to absent himself from the capital for long, seeing that this was the first time he had left it. The Conservative party would become discontented, probably alarmed, and the shimpei and rônins were still to be feared.

CHAPTER XII.

1868.

Ordinance against "evil sect, called Christian."—Protests of Representatives.—Arguments of Japanese.—Proclamation committing over 4000 Christians to charge of Daimios.—Opinions of Kido.—120 taken away from Urakami in a Steamer.

CHAP.
XII.

1868.
Ordinance against
"evil sect, called Christian" impolitic.

It has been recorded that an ordinance prohibiting the "evil sect, called Christian," was published by the new Government. Although not couched in such severe terms as the law of 1682, this ordinance was very objectionable, and as one of the first acts of the Mikado's Government, which professed to be desirous of entering into friendly relations with the Treaty Powers, and of making Japan take her place in the family of nations, it was an impolitic act.

Protests of Representatives. All the Representatives appear to have brought the subject before the Government. The arguments in every case were the same; there was a distinct deprecation of interference in the internal affairs of Japan, but each of the diplomatists felt that odium was cast upon the religion professed by the nation of which he was the mouthpiece, and he could not but regard the publication of such an ordinance, at such a moment,

as little consonant with the professions of friendship repeatedly put forth by the members of the new Government since their accession to power.

1868.

The Japanese Ministers could only defend their Arguments action by bringing forward the deep feeling against Japanese. Christianity which had been handed down from father to son for centuries, owing to the troubles it had once created. There was still an idea prevalent in the Japanese mind, they said, that the votaries of the Christian religion practised arts of sorcery or magic, connected with foxes and other objects of superstitious dread; that it was consequently the practice of this religion which was dangerous; that any man might be a Christian if he would not celebrate the rites, for in fact each man's religion was fashioned after the dictates of his own heart, and he must believe accordingly. But they could not openly tolerate this faith; it was not, perhaps, a thing hurtful in itself; still if they had passed it over, they would have offended the people, who would have accused them of favouring or approving Christianity.

The word "evil" they agreed was a mistake, and they promised to rectify this error, but they held out no hopes of revoking the whole ordinance. They could not, or would not, understand that this was a matter on which both Europe and America were most sensitive, and they probably could not weigh the ill effects which the persecution of Japanese Christians would have on the minds of their co-religionists, the nations to whom the Mikado was at this very juncture giving the most earnest assurances of his friendly feelings.

The outward expression of enmity against the Christians, who mostly lived in Urakami, a village CHAP. XII. 1868.

near Nagasaki, appears to have first manifested itself in August, 1867, during the last shôgun's tenure of The persecution was now being revived, and many in authority persisted in looking upon these Christian peasants, who really appear in the light of a harmless, peaceable race, as a focus of sedition, and as dangerous to the Government. Their particular hatred seems to have been directed against the Roman Catholic missionaries at Nagasaki. As far as Protestant missionaries were concerned, there were already some Americans established, but at that time no English.* Still, that Protestantism came in for its share of hatred is evident from a violent pamphlet against both forms of the Christian religion, which was published about this time, and was entitled, "Tales of Nagasaki; the Story of the Evil Doctrine." It is too long to insert here.

Particular hatred of Roman Catholic missionaries.

Protestantism also abused.

The intention of the Government, especially egged on by certain men of the revolution, who, as subordinates, were beginning to exercise a visible power, was to disperse the bulk of the Christians among different clans, and to put to death a small number, who refused to recognize any authority but that of the Roman Catholic priests.

Proclamation committing over 4000 Christians to charge of certain daimios. However, no lives appear to have been taken, but a proclamation was issued in June, ordering over 4000 Japanese professing themselves Christians to be taken charge of by 34 daimios, in the proportions therein named, for the space of three years. These poor men were to be allowed no communication with their friends, they were to be employed as labourers in any capacity whatsoever, and were to live

^{*} Two English missionaries established themselves subsequently at Nagasaki.

in lonely and remote places; at the same time they were to be treated kindly, in order that by teaching their hearts might be changed; but if they did not repent, severe—meaning thereby capital—punishment was to be their doom.

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At the same period the anti-foreign party were attempting to renew the agitation for expelling foreigners, and one good excuse brought forward for carrying this mighty deed into execution was the conduct of the "barbarians" in attempting to introduce Christianity in and about Nagasaki.

In the month of June, Kido arrived in Nagasaki, Opinions of charged by the Government to inquire into the Christian question, and to make the necessary arrangements for carrying out upon some of the Urakami Christians the measure which had been determined upon.

Kido has already been several times mentioned. He is one of the ablest of the samurai who planned and effected the restoration. Brave to a fault, he showed his singular courage by more than one heroic action during the civil troubles, and those foreigners who know him well will testify to his friendly feeling towards them, and to his desire to see Japan move on in the path of enlightenment and modern civilization. It will therefore be interesting to hear what language this gentleman held to Mr. Consul Flowers, at Nagasaki, in the beginning of July, 1868.

He stated that great animosity and ill-feeling existed between the Christian population and the Japanese of the lower classes, and that eventually disturbances and civil strife might arise between the two parties. The Government therefore considered it their duty to take some precautionary measures to

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prevent such a state of things. It was not so much against Christianity that they were acting, as to preserve order in the country. Christianity, for aught he knew, might be a very good doctrine, and if it was the general faith of the natives it would not be objectionable; but they had the sad experience of two and a half centuries ago, when the Jesuits were tolerated in Japan. For the welfare of the country he considered it desirable that Christianity should be put down. It was not the wish of the Government to resort to any severe measures, and they trusted that such would not be necessary; however, if the means they were at present adopting did not effect desired result, they would find themselves obliged to punish the Christians more severely.

Kido also stated that the Roman Catholic priests were regarded by the Japanese in general with great aversion, and that any troubles connected with native Christians were attributed to them. He believed that they still kept up a secret correspondence with their co-religionists in Urakami. He considered that their presence in his country was not required, and was even objectionable, but he did not see how they could be got rid of. He gave a definition of a missionary which is worthy of note, as showing the light in which that class was regarded. He called him a man who is sent to Japan to teach the Japanese to break the laws of their country.

On the 10th of July about 120 of the Urakami away from Urakami in Christians were put on board a steamer in Nagasaki harbour, belonging to the Prince of Kaga. morning, during most unfavourable weather, the steamer put to sea, and subsequently landed its passengers at various points.

This was but a very small fraction of the whole number, amounting to over 4000 men, who had been ordered by edict to be dispersed amongst different daimiates, and it is fair to conclude that the leniency shown on this occasion was due to the urgent and repeated representations of the foreign Ministers and other foreign authorities.

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CHAPTER XIII.

1868.

Confederacy of Northern Clans.—Skirmishes at different Points. —Sanjô arrives as Kansasshi.—Tayasu Kaménoské made head of the Tokugawa Clan.—Its discontent respecting Revenue of Clan.—Shôgitai seize Rinnôji no Miya in Uyéno. —Their lawless proceedings.—Attack upon them in Uyéno. —Their defeat, and burning of the main Temple.—Revenue fixed at 700,000 koku.—Improved state of Yedo.—Kéiki removes to Sumpu.—Coalition of Northern Daimios.— Serious operations against the Rebels.—Attack on Wakamatsŭ, and capitulation of Aidzu.—End of Civil War.

CHAP. XIII. Confederacy of northern clans. Skirmishes points.

The confederacy of clans, mostly from the north, and Tokugawa rônins by degrees assumed a more formidable aspect; at the end of May several skirmishes at different took place between the two contending parties at points not far distant from Yedo, and there were engagements in the country about Utsunomiya, Nikkô, &c.

Sanjô arrives in Yedo. Tayasu Kaménoské made head of the Tokugawa family.

On the 13th of June the Kugé Sanjô arrived at Yedo in the quality of Kansasshi.* The Imperial

* This was a temporary office created for the moment. could be translated Censor in China, but as there is no real English equivalent, it is best to retain the native term.—E. S. Vide the Kinsé Shiriaku for much that follows.

Court made Tayasu Kaménoské, a boy of six years old, successor to the headship of the Tokugawa family, and the decree of investment was conveyed to him by the Kansasshi.

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The state of Yedo in the month of June was peculiar, the military government being entirely in the hands of the Imperialists, under Arisugawa no Miya, whilst the municipal administration was still carried on by the former Tokugawa officials. The great question was, what should be the revenue of the fallen clan. It had been estimated at eight million position to the fallen clan. It had been estimated at eight million position which is the clan. The fallen clan is the fallen clan is the fallen clan. 110,000 Mexican dollars * according to the exchange of that time), and one million Mexican dollars from customs dues. Of the eight million koku, half arose from lands held hereditarily by the Tokugawa hatamotos, and the remainder amounted in reality to no more than 1,210,000 kokus, in value about 800,000 Mexican dollars.

The retainers of the clan, according to the Kinsé Tokugawa retainers Shiriaku, were much discontented that the amount of called shôgitai, revenue to be accorded to them was not settled. Rinnôji no Miva in When the Castle of Yedo, together with all the Uyéno. munitions of war, was given up, numbers of these lawless conduct. men were more displeased than ever, and assuming the name of shôgitai,† they seized Tôyeizan.‡ Having obtained possession of the person of Rinnôji

- * The value of the Mexican dollar varies considerably, according to the rate of exchange. It is sometimes only worth 4s. 2d., sometimes 4s. 9d., or even more.
 - † Literally, the band which makes duty clear.—E. S.
- † The name of the park at Uyéno, which contains the cemeteries of several of the Tokugawa shôguns. It is also called Kuanyéiji.—E. S. Vide vol. i. p. 83.

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no Miya, they aimed at great-things, even to setting him up as a rival Mikado. It was said that the shittô Gakuô-In, taking upon himself to find fault with the late proceedings of the Court, completely deceived the Miya, and obtained his sanction to the deeds of these lawless men. Samurai belonging to Aidzu, and to some clans of the Kuantô, gave their moral support, and the band gained confidence. They invited men to enlist, and repaired their arms. Many of the runaway troops, who had been hiding in Yedo after having been defeated by the Imperialists, and low fellows who were out of employment, spread the news, and came to join the others, in the hope of getting rice for their daily sustenance. There was no law or order in such a heterogeneous body. When they walked abroad for amusement, they carried long swords in their girdles, wore high clogs, put on the airs of swashbucklers, and swaggered as much as possible.* The Imperial troops were a piece of brocade sewn to their clothes as a sign, and the inhabitants of the city used to ridicule them in secret, calling them "shreds of brocade" (kingiré). If the shôgitai met one of them in the streets, they at once heaped insults upon him, or attacked and killed him. Many an Imperial soldier was murdered in this way. The townspeople all feared the shôgitai, who also

^{*} I went up to Yedo for the first time on the 23rd of June, in the gun-boat "Snap," Lieut. Gurdon, with Mr. Satow and Mr. Wirgman, and in the course of a long walk through the city, where we were almost the only foreigners, we met a number of these rollicking blades, with one very long sword, whose rowdy demeanour and angry scowl made us glad that we had taken our revolvers with us, and were accompanied by a guard, though only of natives.

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sallied out at nights and, flushed with saké, levied black mail upon them, and demeaned themselves as if masters of the place. The indignation of the troops of the various loyal clans became so strong that they petitioned for leave to inflict chastisement upon these lawless fellows. Whereupon the Miya Commanderin-chief and the Kansasshi issued an order to the Tokugawa family to disband the troops collected at Tôyeizan, but the shôgitai refused to obey. Rinnôji no Miya was then summoned to remove his residence to the castle, as it was necessary to employ force; but Gakuô-In interfered, and prevented him. It then became necessary to issue orders for an attack on the shôgitai. They were declared to be rebels against the State, they were to be killed wheresoever found, and any one secretly assisting or harbouring them was to be treated as a rebel.

One short week after I had returned from Yedo, Defeat of shôgitai in on the 4th of July, the inhabitants of Yokohama, Remnant flee with passing along the Bund towards evening, observed a Rinnôji no Miya.

dense smoke rising high up in the air, evidently from Burning of main temple. some quarter of the vast city. What had happened none of the foreigners knew; whether there had been one of those dreadful fires which from time to time desolate Yedo, or whether there had been a fight between the two parties so strangely occupying it together, could not at once be determined, but it was not long before we ascertained that the main temple, and much more that was in the grounds of Uyéno, had been burnt to ashes, after a severe fight.

What had happened was this. It having been determined to obtain possession of Uyéno, Ômura Masujirô, the chief director of military affairs, was taken into council, and he assigned to the different

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divisions the points they were to attack. There were troops of Satsuma, Higo, Hizen, Chôshiu, Owari, and many more clans, and on the morning of the 4th they made a simultaneous advance. The Satsuma men marched gaily up, singing their war-songs as they advanced, and they and others of the loyal force were met by a vigorous sortie of the shôgitai, and were in the first instance repulsed. All the morning the fight raged, and victory still seemed to incline to the rebel band, but in the afternoon the tide turned, principally, as I was told, owing to the Hizen men having got two Armstrong guns into position, and doing terrible execution with them. Gakuô-In and his friends had already fled away, and taking the Miya with them, had barely escaped with their lives by a by-path. The rebels now occupied the hondô, or chief hall of the monastery, but their adversaries contrived to set it on fire, and the remnant of the band took hastily The hondô continued burning till ten o'clock at night. "Fear," says the native historian, "fell upon all men, and the inhabitants of the city, when they saw the 'shreds of brocade,' communicated their awe to each other, so that the 'shreds of brocade' at last commanded respect throughout Yedo.

Revenue of Tokugawa fief fixed at 700,000 koku.

"Shortly afterwards, the Court fixed the amount of the Tokugawa fief. 700,000 koku of land in Suruga, Tôtomi, Ôshiu, and Déwa were granted to the clan, while the retainers were deprived of their titles. Before the amount of the fief was determined, the retainers of the Tokugawa family had expected that three million koku would be granted, or two million at least, so that when the decree was issued they were filled with consternation, and all said that the shôgitai had really ruined the business.

"During this month the Court announced to the Tokugawa family that, as a special act of grace, it would take into its service the remaining retainers. This was followed by the submission of a large number of them." *

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Yedo was now cleared of the last remnant of Improved state of openly disaffected men, who were ready to push their hatred of the Mikado's Government to extremities. On returning to the city about the end of July, Mr. Satow and I found that an important change had taken place. The municipal government had passed Municipal government over entirely into the hands of the Imperialists, and to Imperialists. the Tokugawa officials had been dismissed. The city wore a calmer air, and the long-sworded swashbucklers were in diminished numbers.

As to the remnant, who escaped from Uyéno, they wandered about, some going north to join Aidzu, and others forming small bands of rônins, which were gradually dispersed, and in the country around Yedo there was once more peace.

In fact, the Tokugawa clan were generally despondent, and their military spirit had evidently declined during the long peace which had reigned since the time of Iyéyasŭ. There were a vast number of them in Yedo who had hardly the means of subsistence. We were told that many a two-sworded man was selling off any property he possessed, and was turning his abode into a shop, in order to earn rice for himself and his family. I am afraid there was much destitution in those days, and long afterwards, but it could not be otherwise: no great change was ever effected in a country without bringing misery upon some class, at least for the moment.

^{*} Kinsé Shiriaku.

CHAP. XIII. 1868. Kéiki removes to Sumpu in Suruga.

During Kéiki's residence in Mito fighting had continued in the immediate vicinity, and there were rumours that rebels intended to seize his person, and thus give rise to new complications. But when the revenue of the Tokugawa family had been settled, great numbers of the retainers were removed to the fief in Suruga, and after they were settled there Kéiki sent in a memorial, praying for leave to take up his abode at Sumpu, in that province, and the Court granted his request. Although his name has often been mentioned as likely to be called to the councils of the Emperor, he has since lived at Sumpu in strict seclusion.

Coalition of northern clans.

Troops were now despatched to fight against Aidzu and his confederates. The coalition of daimios (or rather of clans) in the north gradually increased in numbers to about twenty-five, among whom were the Princes of Sendai and Yonézawa, who had been particularly ordered to attack Aidzu.

Serious operations commenced against rebellious clans in August.

In the month of June there appears to have been some skirmishing between bodies of men, but it was in August that more serious operations commenced, and that soldiers were hurried up from different parts of the west and south, in order that a vigorous attempt might be made to bring the rebellious clans into submission before the winter set in; military operations would then become impossible in those hilly regions, where the snow will sometimes lie in the valleys to the depth of ten or fifteen feet, and wholly block up the mountain-passes.

Ninnaji no Miya was in command of the forces entrusted with the chastisement of Aidzu, and much fighting is recorded in Echigo.

Success was on the whole with the Imperialists,

and they advanced further to the north. They invaded the Sendai territory, and detachments were sent to attack Nambu, Yonézawa, and Shônai. These troops met with frequent reverses at first, but in the end they began to close in upon Sendai and the other three clans, without, however, taking any notice of But the Aidzu clan continued strengthening their position, and the military advisers of the Imperial army taking counsel together, said: "Aidzu Determination to is the root of the rebellion, while Sendai and the Wakamatsu in Aidzu If we in Aidzu. other clans are but the leaves and branches. pursue the leaves and branches, and neglect the root, they will spring up again as often as we destroy them. The best plan would be to disturb the root, for if that once moves, the leaves and branches will wither of themselves. Besides, thirty days from this the castle of Wakamatsŭ will be deep in snow, and the cold will be so intense that the army will be unable to advance. We must lose no time." So, leaving certain clans to act against Sendai and his confederates, they started from Nihommatsu on the 7th of October, at the head of the Satsuma, Chôshiu, Tosa, Ôgaki, and Omura troops, and on the following day, after putting to flight the force opposed to them, they entered pell-mell into the town of Wakamatsu, and took the outer ring of the castle. Skirmishes and sorties now succeeded, reinforcements were received by both sides, and the garrison of the castle defended itself stoutly against the Imperialists.

On the 30th of October the whole army made a combined advance on the castle. It should be mentioned that Yonézawa troops were now amongst the besiegers, that clan having given in its adhesion to the loyal side.

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Surrender of the castle and capitulation of Aidzu.

The siege did not last long. Seven days later, on the 6th of November, the castle capitulated. The two Princes of Aidzu, father and son, presented themselves at the head-quarters of the Imperial army, tendered their submission, and then retired to do penance in a temple of their own province. The following is a translation of the capitulation of the elder prince:—

Capitulation of Aidzu.

"Your servant Katamori humbly and reverently presumes to make the following representation:—

"Whilst I was in office at Kiôto I received unnumbered marks of favour from the Imperial Court, for which I was unable to make one ten-thousandth part of the return prompted by gratitude. In the first month of the present year, contrary to my real feelings, I had violent recourse to arms at Fushimi, heedless of its vicinity to the capital, and gave grounds for alarm to the Imperial Court—acts which I now deeply regret. Since then, up to to-day, I have persistently resisted the armies of my Sovereign, and I dare offer no excuses now for the obstinate errors of a wild and uncivilized spot of territory. Truly my crime is such as heaven and earth cannot tolerate, and there is no place whither I can betake myself. misery into which the people have been plunged is entirely the work of your servant Katamori, and he will, therefore, cheerfully accept any punishment that may be decreed for him. Your servant and his son and their retainers place their lives in the hands of the Imperial Court, and await with reverence its just But the population of the province, the women, and the children knew no better, are innocent

of all blame, and I pray on my knees that his Majesty will extend his clemency to them all.

"Now, therefore, I offer to surrender all the munitions of war in my possession; I evacuate my castle, and surrender my person at the camp of the Government forces, in sign of contrition. chance that your Majesty deign, in the day of the restoration of the Imperial authority to its ancient condition, to show special clemency and grant me merciful terms, I shall be penetrated with the profoundest gratitude.

"I present this petition to the Staff of the Commander-in-chief, conscious that my life is at their disposal."

The remaining rebellious clans soon submitted and End of civil gave up their arms, Shônai being one of the very last to yield, and thus the civil war was at an end.

The Kinsé Shiriaku says:—

"When the loyal army attacked the castle of Wakamatsŭ, it was only provided with twelve-pounder guns, the larger cannon being too heavy for transport, on account of the hilly nature of the surrounding country. It was this cause which lengthened out the siege of a single fortress by so large a force to 30 days. When the eastern war broke out the clans of Mutsu and Déwa were all armed with ordinary muskets, while the loyal army opposed them with breech-loaders of American invention, which was the cause of their being so terrible in fight."

CHAPTER XIV.

1868.

Insult to Herr von Brandt in Yokohama by Retainers of Higashi Kuzé.—Apology obtained.—Institution of Imperial Fêteday, and change of Chronological Period.—Arrival of the Emperor in Yedo, now Tôkiô or Tôkei.

CHAP. XIV. An incident which occurred on the 25th of September, in Yokohama, was characteristic of the feudal institutions of the country, and of the difficulties which might arise at that time between natives and foreigners.

Herr von Brandt's groom pulled off his carriage by retainers of Higashi Kuzé.

Herr von Brandt was driving in his open carriage, when he met the train of Higashi Kuzé, who was carried in his litter in the midst. Suddenly the first two men of the escort threw themselves upon the carriage of the Chargé d'Affaires, and with loud yells pulled down the native groom, who was sitting on the seat behind, and whose coat was marked with the Prussian arms. None of the train attempted to stop this proceeding, although Herr von Brandt was probably known to some of the officials composing it, but, on the contrary, several put their hands in a threatening manner upon their swords.

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Higashi Kuzé, as a Court noble, was of course entitled at that time, according to Japanese usage, to a prostration from all Japanese of the lower orders, and the duty of seeing that the prescribed marks of respect were rendered to the noble would devolve on the followers in the train. Native grooms had before then been made to dismount from horses belonging to foreigners, for it was not permitted to any such person to ride his master's horse, at all events not in the presence of a superior, and the custom was that he should always run or walk by his master's side, when the latter rode. But in a foreign settlement this could not long be tolerated, and as far as British subjects were concerned it had already been settled that grooms in their employ should never be molested when driving or riding in company with their masters, and should be allowed at all times to exercise their masters' horses on the race-course, or on the new road in the vicinity, without let or hindrance.

This insult, then, could not be passed over, the Higashi matter was taken up by all the Representatives, and apologizes. after some delay Higashi Kuzé made an apology in writing to Herr von Brandt, and the following notification was published by the local authorities:—

"With regard to the improper behaviour which men of my escort have shown towards the Prussian Minister, by pulling down his bettô from the carriage on the 25th instant, I have expressed my deep regret to the Minister.

"Let every one keep well in mind, that henceforward nobody, whoever he may be, shall conduct himself in such an improper manner towards a Minister or a foreigner. CHAP. XIV. 1868.

"The above decree of Higashi Kuzé no Chiujô shall be published in the town to all people without exception.

(Signed)

"Saibanshô, " of Kanagawa.

"7th month, 12th day (29th August, 1868)."

Institution of Imperial fête-day, and change of chronological period. On the 6th of November no capital punishments were inflicted in any part of the Empire, it being the Tennô's birthday, and he entertained all his officials with a banquet. Thenceforward the birthday was constituted the Imperial fête, and the whole Empire was commanded to celebrate it as an occasion for rejoicing. The chronological period was also changed to Méiji (Enlightened Government), and an Imperial proclamation was published making it a rule for all time that there should be only one chronological period for each reign.*

It had become evident to the men who ruled the councils of the Emperor, that the sovereign, restored to his rights, must not remain in the dim seclusion of Kiôto. He had already sojourned in Ôzaka, but had returned to the ancient capital, and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs had been removed back to the latter city. Now, however, a bolder step was about to be undertaken; it was decided that his Majesty should journey to Yedo, and take up his residence, for a time at least, in the castle of the usurpers. He would thus show to his subjects in the Kuantô that the power of the shôguns was gone, and that he had really resumed his rightful place.

Arrival of the Emperor in Yedo, changed to Tôkiô, or Tôkei. He trayelled by land, and reached Yedo on the 26th of November. The name of this city had already

been changed to Tôkiô, or, according to another pronunciation, Tôkei, i.e. eastern capital.*

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The Phœnix car accompanied the procession, and the Emperor himself, as in his journey to Ôzaka, was carried in a closed palanquin of wood.

After his Majesty's arrival, Arisugawa no Miya returned into his hands the brocade banner and the sword of justice (settô), which had been given to him on his appointment as Commander-in-chief.

This was in token of the pacification of the north and east. His Majesty thanked the Miya for his services, and bestowed gifts of money on other officers.

* It is possible that this change, apparently so unnecessary, was made in order to facilitate the Mikado's removal from Kiôto, by familiarizing the people with the idea of two capitals, an eastern and a western one. Though the name Kiôto has been retained as the official designation of the ancient residence of the Sovereign, it is more often called Saikiô, or western capital, by all classes, in contradistinction to Tôkiô, thus proving that the object, if there was one, has been attained.—E. S.

CHAPTER XV.

1868.

Ex-Shôgun's Fleet leaves Yedo Bay under Enomoto Kamajirô.—Captain Brunet and other Frenchmen join the Expedition, which proceeds to Sendai, and thence to Yezo.—Flight of Hakodaté Officials.—Rebels take Possession.—English and French Ships sent to Hakodaté.

CHAP. XV. Ex-shôgun's fleet leaves Yedo Bay under Enomoto Kamajirô. On the night of the 4th of October the ex-shôgun's fleet again suddenly quitted its anchorage off Shinagawa, and left the bay.

Enomoto Kamajirô, who was in command, was originally a retainer of the Tokugawa clan. He had studied navigation and Dutch for five years in Holland, and on his return in 1867 was appointed a captain in the navy.

The number of men on board this fleet was estimated at about 3000, consisting of soldiers, sailors, and a numerous gathering belonging to the Tokugawa clan, of no settled occupation, out at elbows, without rice to eat, and so discontented that they were ready to join in any expedition which held out a prospect of revenge and plunder.

Government decree. On the 10th of October the Government issued a decree stating that the fleet, consisting of eight

men-of-war and steam transports, had left after the authorities of Kaménoské (the new head of the Tokugawa family) had given a positive assurance that they would regard the submissive will of their old master Kéiki, and would not weigh anchor in violation of good order. They had, therefore, been guilty of an act of rebellion, and were certain to commit acts of piracy. None of their acts were to disturb the treaty relations between Japan and other countries.

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Among the eight vessels, three played a conspicuous part in the events which followed—the corvette "Kayô;" the "Kaiten," formerly the "Eagle," which was a large paddle-wheel steamer; and the "Banriyô," being the yacht "Emperor" presented by the Queen to the "Tycoon."

Captain Brunet and M. Caseneuve, of the French Mission Militaire, joined this expedition without the knowledge of M. Outrey, the new Minister, who was very wrongfully accused of having favoured this step. There were other Frenchmen as well, and two midshipmen from H. I. M.'s corvette "Minerve" subsequently joined Enomoto in Yezo.

The ships made for the coast of Sendai, where Expedition proceeded to Sendai.
There and picked up recruits. Thence to Sendai. But when the leaders of the expedition became convinced that the rebellion on the main island was crushed, they were obliged to turn their thoughts and their course to some other portion of Japanese territory, and, agreeably to their original programme, they took their departure for Yezo.

On the night of the 3rd of December intelligence reached Hakodaté that three of the rebel steamers were in Volcano Bay, where they had landed 600 men. From there Enomoto appears to have sent

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Flight of Governor of Hakodaté

and other

officials.

messengers to the Imperial authorities, for the purpose of declaring that his party had no desire to fight, but that they wished to be allowed to colonize Yedo peaceably. The messengers are said to have been shot, a course of proceeding for which there are unhappily many precedents in Japanese warfare. were sent out to oppose the would-be colonists, and some fighting ensued in the defiles. Whether the Hakodaté Government magnified the strength of the expedition and considered it useless to attempt to defend the place, or whether they were seized with a sudden panic, certain it is that the Governor Shimidzu-dani and all the head officials left the port during the night of the 7th, on board the "Kaga no Kami," and that they were shortly afterwards followed by the remaining officials and soldiers in The whole body crossed over to another steamer. the main island, and landed in Awomori Bay.

The rebels take possession of Hakodaté.

The town was thus left utterly unprotected. Towards evening a steamer, which had been cruising about, entered the harbour, and was ascertained to be the "Eagle;" a detachment of men landed from her and took possession of the Custom-house. On the following morning the captain informed the consuls that he had taken charge, and in a few days the bulk of the expedition arrived, and set about forming a new administration. Enomoto became an Admiral, Nagai Gemba (one of the Japanese who signed the Elgin treaty) blossomed out as Civil Governor of Hakodaté, and other appointments were announced. The consuls forthwith recognized the new state of things, and the rebels—who, to their profound astonishment, had entered Hakodaté without striking a blowbegan to raise their pretensions, and already presumed to look upon the whole island as their own.

On the 9th of December news arrived at Yokohama of the proceedings of Enomoto's men, and of their pretensions to be treated as belligerents, which could of course not be permitted. The English and French Ministers decided that it would be well, in the interest of their countrymen, to send ships of war to Hakodaté. It was impossible to know what might happen, and there was then no regular communication between Yokohama and the northern treaty port.

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H.M.S. "Satellite," Captain White, and H.I.M.S. English and French "Vénus," Captain Roy, were detailed for this service, ships of war sent to Hakodaté. and Sir H. Parkes sent me up in the former ship to make inquiries into the state of affairs, and to report to him more fully in person on my return than could be done in writing at a distance.*

On the afternoon of the 14th of December, the Arrival of the "Vénus" "Vénus" and "Satellite" started from Yokohama, "Vénus and the and, steaming in company, reached Hakodaté towards the evening of the 17th. We found the place in the hands of the rebels; the "Kayô Maru" and one or two other steamers belonging to them were in the bay, and the fort saluted the English and French ships as they entered. This salute was of course not returned.

* I may here be permitted to state that this was the whole extent of my mission; that I was not sent, as some supposed, to interfere in the negotiations with Enomoto, which were entrusted to the naval commanders and the consular officers, nor did I interfere therein; neither was I instructed to concoct secret plans for the acquisition of the island of Yezo for "perfidious Albion;" neither was I closeted for hours with Enomoto at Hakodaté with this same treacherous intent, as I have been informed was said in certain quarters. It was all a needless invention: Great Britain never had any designs on Yezo, and I never spoke to Enomoto in my life.

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The day after our arrival, curiously enough, the Russian Consul-General, the American Consul, and the Prussian Vice-Consul went on board the "Kayô Maru," and were duly saluted.

Sorry condition of rebel fleet.

The fleet was in a sorry condition; anything more dirty-looking than the once beautiful "Kayô Maru" I have seldom seen; rust covered her sides, and her rudder was wanting. The "Eagle" was in an equally deplorable state, and, except for her fine lines, no one would have recognized the Queen's present in the rusty, uncared-for "Banriyô."

State of things on shore.

On shore the sight was amusing. The streets were full of soldiers, in every variety of costume. Little fellows dressed out in baggy trousers, with hair cut and combed after the European fashion, marched proudly along, and touched their gold-laced caps when they met a foreign official; a number of men, said to be from Sendai, were clad in cherrycoloured trousers, as if in mockery of "Cardigan's Own;" others again had retained their Japanese dress, and swaggered about, covered from head to foot with red and green blankets, and the picture was filled up with a crowd of nondescripts, who seemed as if they had picked up their motley costumes here and there in the slop shops of Yokohama. Many of these men had been recruited by the way, joining the expedition for the sake of plunder, and they were already becoming discontented, for not only were they disappointed in their hopes of loot, but their meagre pay was already in arrear. It did not require much perspicacity to foretell the result of the ill-starred expedition, and I was enabled, with little difficulty, to make a tolerably accurate report of the state of things in Hakodaté. I remained there till the 26th, and then returned to Yokohama in H.M.S. "Argus."

CHAPTER XVI.

1869.

Opening of City of Yedo and Port of Niigata.—Representatives received by Mikado.—Punishment of rebellious Nobles.— Emperor goes on board a Ship of War.—Returns to Kiôto, and is married.—Withdrawal of Neutrality Proclamations. - Ram "Stonewall" handed over. - Murder of Yokoi Heishirô. — Iwakura resigns Office of Prime Minister. — Retains Power.

When the year 1869 was ushered in, the last of the shôguns was settled in retirement at Sumpu, the State of affairs. rightful sovereign occupied his castle in his former capital, now no longer officially Yedo, but the eastern capital, and the rebellious clans of the east and north had been vanquished and had submitted. Enomoto and his followers were alone in arms against the Emperor.

There could now no longer be any hesitation on the part of any foreign Representative to recognize the youthful Mikado as the one visible head of the Empire, and all the erroneous notions of "spiritual" and "temporal" Emperor were dispelled for ever. No more could it be asserted that the "Tycoon" would return to power, that the northern clans would

never submit, or that the imperialists would be speedily ejected from Yedo.

Opening of city of Yedo and port of Niigata.

Niigata.

Representatives received by

On the 1st of January that city and the port of Niigata were formally opened to foreign trade.

On the 5th all the Representatives * were received by the Emperor in solemn audience, one after another, with their *personnel* and various naval and military officers.

Punishment of rebellious nobles.

Emperor.

An Imperial edict now declared that the Government officers and samurai of different ranks ordered to deliberate on the cases of the rebellious nobles had reported that all the twenty-five were equally guilty of rebellion, and that they deserved capital punishment; that the crime of Katamori (Aidzu), in particular, was offensive to both heaven and man, and that death was insufficient to expiate his guilt. But as, if the principles of good government were universally applied and the minds of men imbued with a proper sense of duty, turbulent subjects would cease to exist, the Emperor laid some blame upon himself, and besides, the sovereign had not administered the laws during the last seven hundred years.

The definition of Aidzu in this edict is that, having been brought up as a man of lofty lineage, and endowed with high rank, his rebellious schemes were not his alone, but that certain of his retainers were the ringleaders of the conspiracy. It was therefore determined to discover the real offenders and to spare him, who was only nominally an offender. That is, he was brought up in seclusion and ignorance of affairs, all the business of his clan was transacted by the leading

^{*} Of France, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, the North German Confederation, and the United States.

men, and he, though strictly responsible for the acts of his clansmen, was not the real instigator of those acts. A Japanese of rank once observed to me with respect to another: "He is only a noble like myself, and knows nothing; it was the fault of those under him."

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However, the rebellion was in some respects put down to the Emperor's shortcomings, and nobles were punished, even some who were absent at the time, because their retainers had offered armed resistance to the Imperial forces.

None of the daimios were put to death. I believe that two of the Aidzu ringleaders were decapitated. The sentences varied in severity. The territories of Aidzu and of a daimio of lesser note were confiscated, and the latter and the two princes of the former clan were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. One noble was merely ordered to retire into seclusion. In some cases where the revenue was diminished the location of the territory was changed, from a fertile to an unfertile district. Twenty-three out of the twentyfive were condemned to retire from public life, and were to be succeeded by relations. Yonézawa, from having taken the lead in repenting, and having joined the Imperial forces, and a small daimio in Echigo, whose eldest son had tendered his submission, and had acted against the rebels, were permitted to be succeeded by their sons.

The Kinsé Shiriaku records that in the eleventh Account from Kinsé oth (Docombor 14, 1868, January 19, 1869) the Shiriaku. month (December 14, 1868—January 12, 1869) the Prince of Aidzu and his son, and the Princes of Sendai, Yonézawa, and the other clans were summoned to Tôkei; that shortly afterwards Rinnôji no Miya and his following returned from the north, and

CHAP. XVI. 1869. that he was placed in seclusion in the palace of Fushimi no Miya, at Kiôto. Also that the province of Mutsu or Ôshiu was divided into five, namely, Iwaki, Iwashiro, Rikuzen, Rikuchiu, and Mutsunoku, whilst Déwa was divided into Uzen and Ugo. It also records the fact that lands at Tonami, in Mutzu, assessed at 30,000 koku, were subsequently bestowed on the Aidzu family, in order that its ancestral sacrifices might be kept up. It adds that the troubles of the Empire were now nearly at an end.

Emperor goes on board a ship of war.

On the 10th of January the Emperor took one more step out of the absolute retirement in which he and his predecessors had lived. He embarked in a small screw steamer, and went on board one of his ships of war and another Imperial steamer, lying off Shinagawa. It was also announced that he proposed to return for a season to Kiôto. His Majesty was to take to himself a wife, and there were certain ceremonies to be observed in connection with the mourning for his father. It was also considered that the people of the west, and perhaps especially those of the old capital, would murmur if his Majesty paid a long first visit to the east. At the same time his intention was announced to return to Yedo in the spring, when an assembly of nobles was to be held. He left by land on the 20th of January, arrived at Kiôto on the 3rd of February, and on the 9th he was married to a princess of the house of Ichijô.

Returns to Kiôto, and is married.

With-drawal of neutrality proclamations. "Stonewall" handed over.

After some discussion between the foreign Representatives and the Japanese Ministers, the neutrality proclamations issued by the former in 1868 were withdrawn on the 9th of February, and the steam-ram "Stonewall," originally bought by the bakufu from America, but retained by the United States' Minister

during the civil war, was handed over by him, and thenceforward hoisted the Mikado's flag.

1869.

A few days afterwards, on the 15th of February, a tragic event occurred at Kiôto, which, little known or remarked on by foreigners, was yet, in one sense, full of significance. It told of the continued existence of men in that capital bitterly obstructive to reform, and ready to pursue to the death any individual who had shown a decided leaning towards an enlightened and progressive policy.

Such a man was Yokoi Heishirô, originally belonging to the Hosokawa (Higo) clan, but then one of the Sanyo in the Emperor's Government. On the day above-mentioned, as he was returning from Court, six men, with their faces concealed by cloth wrappers, suddenly fell upon his palanquin, and one of them Murder of discharged a pistol. Yokoi sprang out, drew his dirk, and tried to defend himself, but whilst he was parrying the thrusts of his assailants, one of them, with a single blow, cut off his head, and carried it away. The head was subsequently recovered, but the murderers escaped, after a desperate struggle.

Out of a list of five men, for whom, as participators in this foul deed, an active search was directed to be made, one was a former retainer of Tokugawa, who had turned priest and had subsequently come back into the world, and two were Totsugawa.* We are reminded of the attack on Sir H. Parkes's procession in 1868, in which an ex-priest was engaged, and it was notorious that the gôshi were equally opposed to reform and intercourse with foreigners. "No one," says the Kinsé Shiriaku,

Vide note to p. 123.

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"knew the motive of this deed, but some said that the opponents of the constitutional changes which he constantly advocated had falsely charged him with professing evil opinions, and the *rônins*, believing this, had acted in consequence. The *rônins* who had plotted this crime were afterwards arrested and decapitated, their heads being publicly exposed after their execution."

I wakura resigns office of Prime Minister, but retains power. By "evil opinions" the author means Christianity. Among the ablest men who belonged to the Mikado's Court was the Kugé Iwakura Tomomi. In the month of February he requested, on the plea of ill-health, to be relieved of his offices of Hoshô and Gijô. He was, however, only permitted to resign the former office, nor did he remain idle. On the contrary, he appeared to be as actively engaged in the Government as before, and to have lost none of his influence. He had only followed the common custom in Japan, of resigning the form, whilst retaining the substance, of power.

CHAPTER XVII.

1869.

Enomoto takes Matsumaë and Esashi.—Wreck of "Kayô Maru." —Proclamation of Republic.—Imperial Fleet sets sail.— Attempt to cut out "Stonewall" in Miako Bay.—Rendezvous in Awomori Bay.—Consuls and Foreign residents conveyed thither.—Operations against Rebels ending in retaking of Esashi, Matsumaë, and Hakodaté.—Submission of Rebels.—French Officers sent as Prisoners to Saigon.

To return to Enomoto's expedition. The troops had continued their first success by taking Matsumaë, a Enomoto takes Matsumaë and considerable coast town, some fifty miles from Hako- sumaë and Esashi. daté, and the seat of a daimio of no small importance, who fled across to the mainland. They then proceeded up the coast, and obtained possession of Esashi. But near this latter place, the hope of their fleet, the "Kayô Maru" went upon a rock, and became a total Wreck of Kayô Maru." wreck. She had doubtless become unmanageable, having left Hakodaté with a new rudder, much too small in dimensions, lashed to her stern. This was a most serious loss to the insurgents.

The next step was to proclaim a republic in Yezo, Proclamation of of which the rebels only possessed certain points.

"The rebel troops," says the Kinsé Shiriaku,

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"were ordered to appoint their chiefs by balloting publicly for them. The result of the election was that Enomoto Kamajirô was chosen Governor-General (Sôsai), Matsudaira Tarô Assistant Governor-General (fuku-sôsai), Arai Ikémoské Commissioner of the Navy (Kaigun bugiô), and Ôtori Kéiské Military Commissioner (Rikugun bugiô). This was done in imitation of the practice observed in the United States of America, where these things are settled by the wish of the majority."

The proceedings on the 27th of January appear to have been as follows. A salute of a hundred and one guns was fired from the fort of Hakodaté, and was answered by one of the rebel ships in the bay. Then a procession in every description of nondescript uniform wended its way, with drums and fifes and flags, to the fort of Kaméda, three miles distant. There was the seat of the pseudo-governor, and there the inauguration of the new-born State was to be celebrated.

The election of Enomoto and the other officers then took place, whether rather after the fashion of Imperial France than of the United States it is hardly necessary to inquire. Universal suffrage was declared to be the basis of the constitution, but at the same time the privilege of voting was denied to any of the lower classes, to wit, merchants, labourers, and the like. The samurai were the voters. The Mikado was to be petitioned to make Mimbu Tayu (brother of Kéiki, and now Prince of Mito), who had been entrusted with the duty of chastising the rebels,* to

^{*} Kéiki had offered to undertake this duty, but had been refused. Mimbu Tayu had been long in Paris, and was known there as "the Tycoon's brother."

be their "President" for the nonce, and a charming vista of peace, happiness, and prosperity was opened for the future model republic.

But the news from Yokohama, that all the foreign state of the rebels. Representatives had united in declaring that the war was at an end in Japan, was a heavy blow and sore discouragement to the rebels. They had counted upon sympathy in some quarters, and they were now left alone. Rice was becoming scarce, money had never been particularly abundant, and they were forced to levy contributions upon the native merchants, and even to collect a portion of the taxes in advance.

Still the Imperialists were to all appearance idle, and the rebels, finding themselves unmolested, after a time took heart, and began to concert measures of defence. They marched troops to Volcano Bay, and they removed the guns from the fort on the seaside to Kaméda, which was to be strengthened and made, if possible, impregnable. In the month of April food became more plentiful, some junks arriving from the south with the usual spring supplies of rice and other necessaries, and money seems to have been furnished by some sympathizing countrymen.

After many delays, the Imperial fleet left for the Imperial fleet set north on the 21st of April.

The squadron consisted of the ram "Stonewall," Attempt to and six other steamers. Owing, however, to un-wall in Miako Bay. favourable weather, they put back into Uraga, filled up with coal, and started again, reaching Miako Bay on the 29th. There they remained for days in idleness, most of the crews spending their time on shore, and an insufficient guard being kept on board.

This delay afforded ample time for information of

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the position and unprepared state of the fleet to be conveyed to Enomoto, and that gallant officer determined to make an attempt to cut out the dreaded ram. This was nearly successful, but the "Eagle" having foolishly charged the ram, was much damaged, and was eventually obliged to retire. She was afterwards sufficiently repaired to take part in the final contest. The "Ashuelot" ran ashore on the coast, and the crew were made prisoners, including one of the French midshipmen who had deserted from the "Minerve."

Rendezvous of Imperial; fleet in Awomori Bay.

Consuls and foreign residents conveyed thither.

The rendezvous for the Imperial fleet was in the fine bay of Awomori on the main island. At the request and owing to the representations of a member of the Japanese foreign department, who was sent up with the fleet with certain powers in reference to dealings with foreigners at the open port, almost all the consular officers and foreign residents had left Hakodaté, in H.M.S. "Pearl," H.I.M.'s gunboat "Coëtlogon," the U.S.S. "Aroostock," and the English merchant steamer "Albion," which the Japanese Government had gone to the expense of chartering in order to assist in the good work. All these vessels proceeded to Awomori Bay, but returned subsequently to witness the final operations at Hakodaté.

Esashi retaken. Decisive measures commenced soon after. Troops were conveyed up the coast, and on the 20th of May the Imperialists took Esashi with little difficulty, the "Stonewall" throwing a shell or two into the fort, and the garrison quickly evacuating it.

Troops were then landed, and marched southwards towards Matsumaë. On the 22nd, not far from that town, an engagement took place with the rebels, in which the Imperialists were worsted, with a loss of

70 killed and wounded. But on the 28th Matsumaë was bombarded, and taken after two hours and a half, And Matwith a trifling loss to the Imperialist side. rebels, accompanied by several of their French instructors, fled towards Hakodaté, and were pursued by the Mikado's troops.

The treaty port was now nearly deserted, the inhabitants having mostly removed up the mountain with their goods and chattels. A few guns were left in the fort, and small batteries had been erected here and there on the isthmus, which was further defended by a species of stockade. The "Eagle," as I have stated, was repaired to a certain extent, and she was armoured as far as possible with chain cables.

But the fate of the ill-starred expedition was Further operations. sealed. After much of the usual delay, the Imperial fleet moved up to Hakodaté Bay; on the 4th of June there was a small naval engagement between the squadrons, but they fired at such long range that no mischief was done. The "Eagle" was afraid of the "Stonewall's" ram, and the "Stonewall" feared that the "Eagle" might board and capture her.

On the 9th there was much fighting on land in the passes, ending in the total defeat of the rebels, and the advance of the Imperial troops to Arigawa on the bay.

The remaining rebels then fled to Kaméda and Hakodaté, and Captain Brunet and his French companions went on board the "Coëtlogon," and surrendered themselves to Captain Didot.

On the 20th the last naval engagement commenced, and ended in the burning of the "Eagle" and the "Emperor" on the one side, and on the other in the blowing up of one vessel.

CHAP. XVII. 1869. Negotiations. Attempts were now made to settle matters peaceably.

"On the 22nd a loyal soldier, named Nagayama, went to the battery at Benten, and suggested to the rebel troops the advisability of surrendering. Many of them wished to do so, but some held a different opinion, and opposed the idea. Nagayama went again to the rebel camp, and saw Enomoto, to whom he pointed out clearly the advantage of submission, and the injury which persistence in treason would entail on them. Enomoto was fully alive to the justice of his reasoning, but was afraid of acting contrary to the inclination of his followers; he therefore merely assented vaguely, and thanked Nagayama for the interest he had taken in them. Nevertheless, a great number of rebel soldiers deserted secretly, and came to surrender themselves." *

After this there was more fighting on the 25th, ending in the taking of a rebel redoubt, about 1000 yards from Kaméda.

"Shortly before this," says the native chronicler, "when the rebel army was so severely defeated, Enomoto Kamajirô sent a present to the loyal army, consisting of two volumes of 'The Complete Digest of the Maritime Laws of all Nations,' which he had formerly studied when in Holland. The military councillors addressed a letter to Enomoto, in which they said: 'We thank you for presenting us with two volumes, the like of which are not to be found in Japan, out of regret that they should become the property of the crows. Your generous feeling lays us under a great obligation. Some day or other we will cause a translation of them to be published

^{*} Kinsé Shiriaku.

throughout the Empire, and we hope you will have no reason to regret this act.' They also sent five tubs of saké, and said, by way of thanks, 'A slight consolation offered to the officers and samurai for their fatigues."

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This interchange of civilities appears strange at such a crisis, but a correspondent in the Japan Times gave somewhat similar information. He wrote that on the morning of the 24th it transpired that supplies had been sent into the fort in the bay during the night by the Chôshiu men of the Mikado's party—some rice, charcoal, water, and fish.

But after the taking of the redoubt on the 25th, all was over. Kaméda surrendered on the following Submission of rebels. day, and the rebel leaders gave themselves up as prisoners. Their troops were then disarmed.

I should record that when the "Coëtlogon" French officers sent arrived off Yokohama, the French Minister would not as priallow Captain Brunet and his companions to disembark, but declared that he considered them as prisoners. They were soon afterwards despatched on board H.I.M.'s corvette "Dupleix" to Saigon, their number being increased by the ci-devant midshipman, who had been taken prisoner, but was readily given up by the Japanese authorities to the French legation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1869.

Necessity of a strong Central Government.—Daimios offer up lists of Lands and Men to Emperor.—Opening of so-called Parliament.—Return of Emperor to Yedo.—Obstructive conduct of Shimpei. — Insults to British subjects on Tôkaidô.—Difficulty of ascertaining facts.—Apology ultimately made.—Crisis over.—Terms Daimiô and Kugé abolished.—Ex-Daimios Governors of Clans.—Reasons of change being effected without serious opposition.

a strong central Government.

WE now come to what seems the most surprising Necessity of change ever effected in a country in so short a time.

It was clear that, the governing power having been restored into the hands of the rightful sovereign, the new Government, in order to be durable, must be based upon a strong centralization. So long, however, as Japan continued to be divided into a number of territories, each under the sway of a powerful prince, who was well-nigh an independent sovereign in his own country, no central government could be formed with any prospect of stability, and a fresh civil war might be looked for at no distant day. Besides, there was the question of money; the Government was sorely in want of funds, and it was the duty of those who had brought about

the change to support the new order of things, and XVIII. contribute to fill the Mikado's exchequer.

Now, it was chiefly by means of the powerful western clans that the bakufu was overturned, and it therefore seemed just that their daimios should take the initiative, and should give evidence of patriotism by yielding up their quasi-sovereign rights to the Mikado, and by coming to the aid of his Government.

The leading men of the clans would naturally favour such a policy; they wished to emerge from their subordinate position, and wield the visible power, with rank and title, in the eastern capital. This action must not, therefore, in my opinion, be attributed to the daimios, who in general little knew what they were about, but to the subordinates who were soon to rise to eminence on their ruin.

The memorial by which the Princes of Satsuma, Four daimios Chôshiu, Tosa, and Hizen offered up the lists of their offer up their lands possessions and men to his Majesty, appeared in the and men to the official Gazette of the 5th of March. The three firstmentioned clans had, as we know, been foremost in the overthrow of the bakufu; the Hizen clan had also contributed materially thereto, and some of their men soon became prominent in the new order of things. The composition of this remarkable document was attributed to Kido Jiunichirô, who, it will be recollected, had been a simple samurai.

Translation.

"In the humble opinion of certain Ministers (i.e. in our opinion) the Great Body (the Imperial Government) must not lose a single day, the Great Strength CHAP. XVIII. 1869.

must not delegate its power for a single day. Since the heavenly ancestors established the foundations of the country, the Imperial line has not failed for ten thousand ages. The heaven and the earth (i.e. Japan) are the Emperor's: there is no man who is not his retainer. This constitutes the Great Body. By the conferring of rank and property the Emperor governs his people: it is his to give and his to take away: of our own selves we cannot hold a foot of land; of our own selves we cannot take a bit of land: this constitutes the Great Strength. In ancient time the Emperor governed the sea-girt land, and trusting to the Great Body and to the Great Strength, the Imperial wisdom of itself ruled over all; thus truth and propriety being upheld, there was prosperity under heaven. In the Middle Ages the ropes of the net were relaxed, so that men, toying with the Great Strength and striving for the power, crowded upon the Emperor, and half the world tried to appropriate the people and to steal the land. Beating and gnawing, and theft and rapine, were the order of the day. When the Great Body that should have been preserved, and the Great Strength that should have been maintained, were gone, there were no means left for repressing these evils. Traitors encouraged one another until the strong preyed upon and devoured the weak. The chief traitors annexed province upon province (literally several tens of provinces), while the lesser maintained several thousand retainers. Upon this arose the bakufu, which also divided territories and men as seemed good to it among private individuals, thus planting and defending its own power. Thus it was that the Emperor wore an empty and vain rank, and, the order of things being reversed,

looked up to the bakufu as the dispenser of joy and sorrow. For more than six hundred years the waters, turned from their course, have flooded the land and reached to heaven. During this time the bakufu borrowed the name and authority of the Emperor to conceal the traces of thefts of lands and men, being forced to use the Imperial name as a blind, because the relations and duties of the vassal to his lord cannot be laid aside after ten thousand years. Now the great Government has been newly restored, and the Emperor himself undertakes the direction of This is indeed a rare and mighty event. affairs. We have the name (of an Imperial Government), we must also have the fact. Our first duty is to illustrate our faithfulness and to prove our loyalty. When the line of Tokugawa arose, it divided the country amongst its kinsfolk, and there were many who founded the fortunes of their families upon it. They waited not to ask whether the lands and men that they received were the gift of the Emperor; for ages they continued to inherit these lands until this day. Others said that their possessions were the prize of their spears and bows, as if they had entered storehouses and stolen the treasures therein, boasting to the soldiers by whom they were surrounded that they had done this regardless of their lives. Those who enter storehouses are known by all men to be thieves, but those who rob lands and steal men are not looked upon with suspicion. How are loyalty and faith confused and destroyed!

"Now that men are seeking for an entirely new Government, the Great Body and the Great Strength must neither be lent nor borrowed.

"The place where we live is the Emperor's land,

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and the food which we eat is grown by the Emperor's men. How can we make it our own? We now reverently offer up the list of our possessions and men, with the prayer that the Emperor will take good measures for rewarding those to whom reward is due, and for taking from those to whom punishment is due. Let the Imperial orders be issued for altering and remodelling the territories of the various clans. Let the civil and penal codes, the military laws, down to the rules for uniform and the construction of engines of war, all proceed from the Emperor; let all the affairs of the Empire, great and small, be referred to After this, when the internal relations of the country shall be upon a true footing, the Empire will be able to take its place side by side with the other countries of the world. This is now the most urgent duty of the Emperor, as it is that of his servants Hence it is that we, in spite of our and children. own folly and vileness, daring to offer up our humble expression of loyalty, upon which we pray that the brilliance of the heavenly sun may shine, with fear and reverence bow the head and do homage, ready to lay down our lives in proof of our faith."*

The Imperial answer stated that this matter would be publicly debated in council when the Emperor reached Yedo for the second time.

Followed by similar acts of nearly all the other daimios. The example of the great class was naturally followed by the smaller ones, and by the 16th of April the memorials had been published of 118 out of the 276 daimios of Japan, begging to be allowed to

^{*} For these and other similar documents, vide Japan No. 3 (1870). Correspondence respecting Affairs in Japan: 1868–70. Presented to Parliament. The translations are by Mr. Mitford.

restore their fiefs to the sovereign, and in the end the whole number reached 241. Except a few not competent to act, only seventeen at last remained, who had not offered up their lists. This small minority was, of course, disregarded; and it was settled that the daimios should return to their territories,—that uniform laws should be established, of which the Mikado should be the fountain-head,—that new assessments of the lands should be drawn up and sent in,—and that, for the present, the lords of the soil should act as governors in their old territories, with the title of Chihanji, or Chiji of the han.

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A so-called Parliament was formally opened on the Opening of so-called 18th of April. It consisted of 276 members. The opening was attended with some ceremony. than 200 members were present, and a number of the highest dignitaries in Yedo, dressed in their robes of state, also attended as spectators. The president read out an Imperial message, commanding the House to commence its labours in the country's cause.

It must be remembered that, not only was the Its composition. Assembly composed of nothing but two-sworded men, who, in order to render them eligible, were declared to rank as $Kar\hat{o}$, but that the members were there as representatives of the clans alone. In this attempt at a Parliament there were no members from cities or towns, but only from clans; the merchants and the people at large had no voice in the deliberations; they could neither elect nor be elected. The House could not, therefore, lay claim to the appellation of a National Assembly; it was a first endeavour to introduce a liberal element into the new constitution, and to form a channel for the expression of public opinion. It should, in fact, be looked upon as a

CHAP. XVIII. species of debating society, where opinions could be broached and subjects discussed; but it could pass no laws. The questions for debate were to be presented either by the Government, by one of the members, or by any Japanese who did not belong to the House.

The majority of the members who were chosen showed a Conservative tendency; but there was a fair sprinkling of Reformers, among whom may be counted some of the ablest men. They appear to have thought that there was an obligation on the part of the Government to carry out the suggestions made by them from time to time; but in that respect they mistook the extent of their powers, and this nearly put an end to their existence: the constitution of the Assembly was subsequently modified, but little practical result was obtained.

Its constitution subsequently modified.

Debates.

Several of the debates are noticed in the Parliamentary papers.* A proposition to abolish the practice of hara kiri was almost unanimously rejected, and not a single member recorded his vote in favour of proposals that all persons, except Government officials and soldiers, should give up wearing sword and dirk, and that the former should no longer carry their dirks. There were debates adverse to the toleration of Christianity among natives; and questions relating to commerce were not treated with liberality. But consummate wisdom could not be expected from such inexperienced men, nor can we wonder that they were unprepared to support propositions for the abolition of their time-honoured institutions.†

^{*} Japan No. 3 (1870).

[†] In a book entitled "The Japanese in America," by Charles Lanman (London, Longmans, 1872), a number of Essays by

On the 18th of April the Emperor left Kiôto once more for Yedo. Here, again, a section of the obstructive party showed itself. A number of the shimpei threw themselves in his Majesty's path, and implored conduct of him not to quit the sacred city, nor pollute himself by intercourse with foreigners; and when the Emperor -was deaf to their entreaties, they said that there was nothing left for them but to accompany him, and protect his sacred person. And as they were some two thousand strong, of the true swashbuckler type, it was considered expedient not to oppose their desire; so they guarded the Mikado, and came trooping into the Eastern capital, full of angry feelings against "the barbarians.

His Majesty arrived in Yedo on the 9th of May. Insults to British For many days previously, the tôkaidô was thronged subjects on tôkaidô by with trains, journeying from Kiôto. On the 2nd, as a Japanese train. Mr. Robertson, Acting British Vice-Consul at Yedo, and his wife, and Mr. Loureiro, Portuguese Consul, were returning along the great road to Yokohama, they were threatened, and forced to descend from their carriage, by a man belonging to one of the processions. On the 4th, a similar insult was offered to Captain Stanhope, of the "Ocean," Mr. Brooke, and

Japanese students in America are to be found. A Mr. T. Magata, aged 20, who, the author says (p. 102), "gave the first lecture ever spoken by a Japanese in this or any other land," states that the House of Representatives was an important part of the Government, and was similar to the Congress at Washington! What a libel on the latter august institution! This same youth calls the sun goddess "the Emperor Ten-show Daijin." Another of these students, called "Tadas Hyash," who is stated to have been clerk and interpreter to the American Legation in Yedo, speaks of the Tycoon Nobunaga. Of course that great man was never made shôgun. Vide vol. i., p. 59.

CHAP. XVIII. 1869. Difficulty of obtaining satisfaction.

three other Englishmen. Sir Harry Parkes lost no time in demanding redress from the Government, but he found great reticence on the subject, and although the usual assurances were given that no effort should be wanting to discover the guilty parties, he was assured from day to day that they could not be found. This could manifestly not be accurate. The different trains journeying along the road were well known, and it was only by a very vigorous course of action that the truth was elicited. It had also happened, somewhat before these insults to British subjects, that several Frenchmen had been mysteriously attacked in Yokohama, and M. Outrey's house had narrowly escaped burning. Sir H. Parkes refused to transact any other business with the Japanese authorities until the insults to his countrymen were atoned for. M. Outrey and the other Representatives made common cause with him, and matters were coming to a deadlock.

Attacks on Frenchmen in Yokohama.

A crisis was at hand. The city was full of the shimpei, and other enemies of foreigners. They, and the bulk of the samurai, were irritated with the new Government, and held their usual language. They said that they had assisted in the overthrow of the bakufu on condition of being then led against "the barbarians," who should be expelled from Japan, but that when the first part of the programme had been effected they found the advisers of the divine Mikado false to their colours and promises, making friends with foreigners.

That the Ministers entrusted with foreign affairs had a difficult task has been proved. In the present case, they were not strong enough to carry out their policy, nor would the other authorities give any

assistance, if they could possibly avoid it, where a foreigner was concerned. We were told that Higashi Kuzé even tendered his resignation when he felt his inability to obtain satisfaction for Sir H. Parkes, that a council of the Government was then called, and that the members of the foreign department declared in this council that if the Government would not sincerely adopt a friendly policy towards foreigners, and decree strong measures against those who were determined to pursue an opposite line, they for their parts would be forced to resign their offices, and would throw the responsibility of anything—even war —which might result from an anti-foreign policy.*

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After much discussion and grave conferences, Ultimately the train is however, the truth was elicited. It turned out that acknow-ledged as in each case of insult the same man had been in fault. that of the ladies of The train was that of the ladies of the Court, and the reason of their being three days on the road between Kanagawa and Yedo was, that they had been detained by the deluge of rain which fell on the 3rd. conceivable that the Government were loath to implicate any one belonging to this particular train; but ultimately satisfactory evidence was produced, and a Apology. proper apology was offered.

Notifications were then posted up along the tôkaidô Notification warning kugés and daimios that foreigners were not foreigners are not to to be forced to descend from their carriages, nor to from car-

riages, &c. on meeting a Japanese train.

* It was not long after, indeed, that Higashi Kuzé and the ex-Prince of Uwajima, both firm and consistent friends of foreigners, retired from the department, the former becoming Governor-General of Yezo, the latter Minister of Finance and of the Home Department.

The Court noble Sawa Nobuyoshi then became Minister for Foreign Affairs.

CHAP. XVIII. 1869. dismount from their horses; and since that time, as far as I am aware, no similar insults have been offered on the road.

Foreign guards stationed for a short period in Yokohama.

For the attacks upon Frenchmen in Yokohama, it was considered expedient again to station foreign guards in the settlement, but this only continued for a short period.

That there were numbers of the Jô-i (expulsion of barbarians) party in Yedo at this time is sufficiently manifest by a notice-posted up at the Nihon bashi, and which, as the *Japan Times*, from which I take the translation, says, was anything but pleasant reading.

Notice against foreigners posted at Nihon bashi.

"Although, in consequence of the sudden outbreak of war in the spring of last year, we were obliged to contract friendly relations with foreigners, yet the expulsion of the barbarian is the most important law of our country. The possibility of the Empire being overthrown by the hateful barbarians, and the difficulty with which the dignity of the Emperor is maintained, are at present matters of grave reflection with the Government. Gradually, too, the detestable barbarian becomes more overbearing, and the instances of his insolent conduct are numerous—riding about in carriages and so forth, he often inflicts wounds on those walking in the streets, and rides on without any concern. Since, then, their conduct is of this atrocious nature, be for the future as careful as you can (to avoid a collision) when walking in the streets, and when the foreign savages act in this unlawful manner, cut them down, and by thus displaying the patriotic intrepidity of the men of Japan, crush the courage of the barbarians." *

^{*} There had unfortunately been instances of Japanese being run over by carriages driven by foreigners.

The crisis, however, was over, and all the members of the Government were decided to persevere in a 1869. Crisis over. policy favourable to foreigners. But the Government was still weak. And though such men as Iwakura, Daté,* and Higashi Kuzé were particularly staunch in their determination to carry through this friendly policy, I believe it is true that they had it seriously in contemplation to ask all diplomatic agents to retire for a time from Yedo. Except the English, however, there were hardly any resident there, though of course the Representatives paid occasional visits to the capital, in order to transact necessary business.

The shimpei were put_under the war department, a calm ensued, and we felt more secure in Yedo.

The Emperor having accepted the offer of the daimios to restore their revenues and subjects, went one step further, and on the 25th of July a decree was issued, which stated that his Majesty, from a desire to assimilate the civil and military classes, and to place them on a footing of equality, abolished the designa- Terms kugé and daimio tions of Court nobles (kugé) and territorial princes abolished, (shoku, more commonly called daimiô), and replaced by general term them by that of noble families (kazoku).

kazoku.

By another decree the Government reserved to themselves the approval of all appointments or offices held under the late daimios, another obvious step towards the subordination of all the local administrations to that of the central Government.

Most of the ex-daimios returned to their homes in Ex-daimios August and September, and assumed the functions of home to be governors of their clans; each provincial government clans. received an uniform constitution; and it was decreed decrees.

^{*} The ex-Prince of Uwajima.

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that, from the beginning of November, the revenues of the old daimiates should be administered on one and the same system. A tenth of the whole amount was to be allotted for the private expenses of the governor's household; and the remainder, after payment of the salaries of officials, and of all the public expenses, was to go into the Imperial treasury. These public expenses, it should be noted, would include a provision for the support of the two-sworded retainers, whose claims for maintenance must be considered, and whose future status would be one of the important questions of the future.

Thus was this radical change effected, and though the ex-daimio was still at the head of his clan, he was strictly speaking no longer an almost independent prince, but a functionary acting in the name of the central Government.

The last sentences of the Kinsé Shiriaku, from which I have so often quoted, say:—

"A new constitution was framed by which the three forms of administration called fu, han, and ken* were combined in one whole, and the former lords of the clans were temporarily appointed governors of clans (Chihanji), the feudal system being thus completely changed. From this moment the governmental power was concentrated in the family of the sovereign, and the Empire was grateful for universal peace."

Reason of change being effected without serious opposition.

If it is not clear to the reader why this change was

* Fu, populous cities. Kiôto, Yedo, Ôzaka.

Han, clans. Already explained, vide vol. i., note to p. 302. They had been under daimios' officials.

Ken may be translated district or prefecture. They had been under bakufu officials.

effected without any serious opposition on the part of XVIII: the daimios, I can only record my opinion that it was because these nobles were puppets in the hands of some of their clansmen, that they were ignorant of affairs, and did not comprehend the nature of the change. And in further exemplification thereof, I will quote from a pamphlet entitled "Han Ron" ("The Clans." A discussion).*

"The great majority of the feudal lords are generally persons who have been born and nurtured in the seclusion of the women's apartments; who have been cherished as tenderly as if they were delicate ornaments of jewels or pearls; who, even when they have grown up to man's estate, still exhibit all the traits of childhood; having never mastered the details of business, they feel no sense of responsibility in approaching affairs of State. Leading a life of leisure, they succeed to the inheritance of their ancestors. With their bodies clad in gorgeous apparel, they feel not the winter's blast, and know not that men pine of starvation and cold. With the beauty of their wives and concubines arrayed before them, and the sounds of music and revelry ringing in their ears, they leave no desire of the heart ungratified. Even now that the symptoms of this decline have unmistakably set in, they are intent only on the pleasures that yet remain to be exhausted. As wisely might they pray to the gods for perpetual youth, or seek from the fairies the boon of immortality. And in the same category are those who, though designated vassals, are born of good family on the great estates. Not only are the lords, but vassals also, such as are here described. Hence the offices are constantly filled * Translated by J. C. Hall.

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by unqualified men, and corruption is so rife as to defy all attempts to suppress it. How, pray, while things remain in this condition, can any scheme for promoting the prosperity or power of the nation be concerted or carried out? It is really worth noticing how many of the daimios who have now been summoned to the conduct of affairs are discharging their duties in a manner at all satisfactory. In truth, the case is deplorable in the extreme. Ah! now that they have fallen upon an enlightened age, and have been as subjects apprised of their sovereign's wishes, how can our feudal lords continue on in the indulgence of sloth and luxury?"

CHAPTER XIX.

1869.

Visit of Duke of Edinburgh.—Received in public and private audience by Mikado.—Murder of Ômura Masujirô.—Notification as to attacks on Foreigners.—Arrival of Austrian Embassy, and conclusion of Treaty.—Kéiki, Aidzu, &c., pardoned.—Arrival of Empress in Yedo.—Buddhism summarily abolished in Satsuma.

In the month of September, for the first time in the history of Japan, a foreign prince became the guest of the Mikado. On the 1st, the Duke of Edinburgh, who had arrived, on the 29th of August, at Yokohama in the "Galatea," proceeded to Yedo, and took up his residence at Hama-go-ten, the old summer recreation ground of the shôguns, close to the water's edge. This delightful spot, dotted over with summer-houses, on a little piece of brackish water communicating with the bay, contains a building which had been transformed into a comfortable European house for His Royal Highness's reception. The name Hama-go-ten was changed to Yen-Riô-Kan, which may be freely translated as a place set apart for the reception of foreigners of distinction.

During his sojourn here, His Royal Highness was

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most hospitably entertained. In the course of his visit of a week, jugglers and acrobats performed their choicest feats, cunning fencers crossed sword and lance, the champion wrestlers displayed their prowess, and, besides other national representations, the ancient dramatic performance of No was given in the first yashiki of the Prince of Kishiu. The nobles of the Court and the chief officers of State vied with each other in showing every civility and courtesy to the royal guest, and on the day that the Duke of Edinburgh was-to be received by the Mikado, as his procession moved along, it was remarked that the upper windows of all the houses on the line of route were sealed with slips of paper, so that no one could look down upon him whom the Mikado delighted to honour. Such a distinction is reserved in Japan for the highest in the land.*

Received in public and private audience by Mikado.

After His Royal Highness had been received in public audience by the Mikado, he was invited to a private interview at the waterfall pavilion in the grounds. There the only foreigners present besides the English Duke were Sir Harry Parkes, Admiral Sir Henry Keppel, and Mr. Mitford as interpreter, the rest of the suite remaining outside. At the verandah His Royal Highness was met by the Prime Minister, who ushered him into the presence. The Emperor, attended by five or six of his nobles only, besides the Prime Minister, rose and bowed courteously, begging the Duke to be seated. The two illustrious personages then sat down, whilst the rest remained stand-

^{*} Vide summary of 1869, in the Japan Weekly Mail of January 22, 1870, for this and other information relating to events in 1869. The summary also appears in the Parliamentary papers, Japan No. 3 (1870), pp. 88—94.

ing during the conversation which ensued. At its close the Duke presented his Majesty with a diamondmounted snuff-box as a remembrance of his visit.

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His Royal Highness returned to Yokohama by sea on the 8th, and took with him on board the "Galatea," besides other high Japanese dignitaries, Hiôbukiô no Miya,* who a few evenings later (novel sight for His Imperial Highness) was present at a ball given at the British Legation. The Royal Duke remained at Yokohama till the 16th, and that he was thoroughly impressed with the unaffected cordiality which had greeted him in the settlement was evident from his parting words, when he declared that nowhere had he found stronger feelings of loyalty and affection to the Queen and to the Royal Family than among his countrymen in this remote spot.

The roll of native victims to a progressive policy was not yet full.

The Government had fortunately been strong Many shimpei sent enough to keep the shimpei in order whilst in Yedo, Kiôto with on to prevent a tumult or any attempt to murder Masujirô. foreigners. Gradually they were cleared out of the eastern capital, a number of them being sent back to Kiôto under charge of Ômura Masujirô, a Vice Minister of the War Department (Hiôbu Taiyu).

On the 8th of October five or six men, said to He is belong to this band, broke into Ômura's lodgings in and dies of his wounds. the camp of the 3rd Choshiu Regiment. They cut him down, and also Lieutenant Shidzuma Hikotarô, Adachi Konoské, professor of foreign languages, and Yoshitomi Otonoské, building officer of the War Depart-

* i.e. the Prince of the Blood, Minister of War. This person. age is identical with Ninnaji no Miya.

CHAP. XIX. 1869. ment, and then ran away. Ômura was so severely wounded that, after lingering some time, he died. Shidzuma and Adachi were killed on the spot, and a retainer of Ômura's, named Yamada Tennoské, died of the wounds which he received. Yoshitomi was severely, but not mortally, wounded. One of the assailants was cut down, and his headless trunk was found on the bank of the Higashi-kawa, on the way to Nijô. The following paper was taken from the folds of his dress:—

Ômura Masujirô!

"It is our humble opinion that his Majesty's resolve of encouraging talent, under the new Imperial Government remodelled on the ancient pattern, implied that he would cherish the natural vigour of his divine country, add glory to the military power of Japan in the eyes of foreign countries, give every one his due place according to his abilities, procure rest and tranquillity to all his subjects, and thus restore to his ancestors in heaven their peace of mind.

"But this man (Ômura), ever since he took office, has had no just conception of the true relations of matters foreign and domestic. He has steadily conformed himself to foreign customs, and has disgraced the national character of this divine country. He has treated the Imperial laws with contempt, and has arbitrarily introduced customs of the barbarians. He has caused extreme misery to all the people, by which their morals have become lowered and a sense of shame forgotten. He remembered foreigners, but forgot his Emperor. The records of his crimes will fill volumes. The deities of Heaven and Earth cannot restrain their indignation, and have borrowed

the hands of a few resolute men, by whom he is to be executed and his head exposed for an example to posterity."

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But let us turn to a pleasanter and more en-Arrival of couraging subject. On the 2nd of October two Embassy, and speedy Austrian ships of war arrived at Yokohama on their conclusion of treaty. way round the world in the interests of commerce. Admiral Baron von Petz, the head of the expedition, accompanied by the other members of the Austro-Hungarian Mission, proceeded to Yedo on the 7th; nine days subsequently, they were received by the Mikado, and on the 18th, the anniversary of the day of their departure from home, the treaty of peace and amity was signed.

This expeditious work was a striking proof of the readiness of the new Government to comply with the usages of Western nations, and to meet the wishes of a foreign Envoy. It is in strong contrast to the slow obstructiveness of the bakufu in their earlier intercourse with foreign Representatives, when years would elapse before an Envoy was admitted into the presence of him who was wrongly styled his Majesty, and even then the advance over every mat had to be persistently contested. A contrast too to the difficulties the Mission had met with in Peking, where the negotiations were needlessly protracted over a period of many weeks, and were almost broken off on the question of giving equal titles to the respective sovereigns of the contracting parties.

And a proof that this was no solitary instance of an increasing willingness to conform to the customs of other nations is to be found in the fact that when, in the end of October, Mr. De Long, the new American CHAP. XIX. 1869. Minister, arrived, a fortnight did not elapse before he had his formal audience of the Emperor.

It should also not be forgotten that, on the conclusion of the Austro-Hungarian Treaty, the Mikado of Japan wrote an autograph letter to his brother, the Emperor of Austria. This was indeed a concession to European usages, no potentate but an Emperor of China having been thus previously addressed by a Mikado.

Kéiki, Aidzu, and their adherents pardoned

The crowning act of clemency to Kéiki, the Prince of Aidzu, and all their adherents, was issued on the 1st of November by the following Imperial decree:—

[Translation.]

"We have heard that a great Prince draws after him his subjects by his virtue, whilst an ordinary ruler meets them with provisions of the law. In our opinion, the unnatural condition of rebellion depends solely on the possession, or want, of kingly virtue in the Sovereign. Now that peace has been restored in our dominions and a settled state of things established throughout the Empire, it is our pleasure to grant pardons to Kéiki, Katamori, and their adherents, and to encourage them to a spontaneous reform of their lives. Thus shall our royal elemency be extended throughout the Empire."

Arrival of Empress in Yedo. It will be recollected that when the Emperor left Kiôto in April for Yedo, there was some opposition to his departure, and it was therefore considered unadvisable that the Empress should accompany his Majesty. After a delay of six months, however, the journey was deemed practicable, and her Majesty started on the 8th of November. Even then some disturbances took

place, and an attempt was made to detain her. For several days previous to her arrival in Yedo there was an uneasy feeling in the air, the notifications of the previous summer against insults to foreigners were again conspicuously displayed on the tôkaidô, and one or two additional native guards accompanied us in our walks and rides in and about the city.

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But nothing happened; on the 27th her Majesty passed quietly and unostentatiously along, and reached the castle without hindrance. Nor was any foreigner insulted. Firm hopes could now be entertained that the Government, increasing in strength, would have power to bridle the spirit of miscalled patriotism, the dangerous yamato damashii.

In the month of November an event occurred in Buddhism summarily the province of Satsuma which recalls the celebrated in Satsuma. despotic act at Kieff, when thousands of Russians were suddenly baptized into the Greek faith, without any previous inquiry into their opinions or wishes. I have already mentioned the iron rule of the intensely military Government of Satsuma; on the occasion in question Buddhism was summarily abolished, and the people were ordered to return to Shintôism, the religion of their forefathers. The temples were at once closed, the officiating priests were informed that their duties were at an end, and they were sent back to their families or relations, and were free to enter into any other line of life. Their hair was allowed to grow, and they might marry.

This decree was received with perfect apathy by the people at large, and some of the temples, such as the one bombarded by the English at Kagoshima in 1862,* were turned into schools.

* Vide vol. i., p. 327.

CHAP. XIX. 1869. In discoursing upon these matters in 1872 with one of the most influential of Japanese statesmen, I mentioned that there seemed to a European some kind of danger in the species of crusade which the Imperial Government had been waging against Buddhism, that disturbances had already resulted in different parts of the country, and that I had also heard that in Satsuma Buddhism was still said to be practised secretly.

No general edict abolishing Buddhism has been issued. Shintô shrines

purified.

The answer I received was to the following effect:— The Imperial Government have issued no edict abolishing Buddhism in general. Their special aim ever since the restoration has been the purification of Shintôism, wherever the two religions were mixed together. Buddhism, which my informant designated as a dead thing, and its priests as a number of ablebodied men who lived in idleness, and only too often in contravention of the rules of their faith, had crept into many a Shintô shrine and contaminated it, and it was for the Mikado, as head of the Shintô religion, to remove this contamination, and to purify the shrines. It was true that the Government discouraged Buddhism generally, and many temples, which were purely Buddhist, had been abolished in different parts of the country. But his Majesty's commands were that such measures should only be adopted with the concurrence of all concerned, of the peasantry as well as of the priests, and where disturbances had taken place, they arose from the fact that the change had been effected there without the concurrence of the people, and the authorities had consequently been severely censured by the Government. In Satsuma number of temples was small, and the priests, my informant said, had been quietly absorbed into the population, and had gladly taken to their new and

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active life. The secret practice of Buddhism, no doubt, still existed, but it was said to be confined to the followers of one very peculiar sect, the Montô, which had been prohibited in Satsuma for nearly three hundred years, in consequence of some of its priests having betrayed the stronghold of Kagoshima into the hands of Hidéyoshi (Taikô Sama), in the war waged between him and the Shimadzu family in 1587. The prohibition against this sect, which was a powerful one, was, however, confined to the territories ruled over by that family, and it was not interfered with elsewhere. Its priests were allowed to marry.

The ease with which some Japanese can change Example of their religion was curiously exemplified to Mr. Satow which some Japanese and myself at the village of Miyagasé, where many a their religion. foreign traveller has rested at the house of the amiable priest. He was formerly of the Buddhist sect called Shingon, and preached the doctrines and celebrated the rites of that particular sect to the edification of the villagers. But after the restoration his temple was shut up, the images were put into a godown, and the Buddhist priest, letting his hair grow, became a kannushi, or Shintô minister, his conversion being thereupon rewarded with the charge of a shrine which had always existed in the village. All his flock followed the example of their pastor, and have since been content to restrict themselves to the worship of the kami. After all, the Japanese have been very much accustomed to worship Buddhist and Shintô deities indiscriminately.

Travellers in the neighbourhood of Yokohama generally visit Kamakura and Fujisawa on the tôkaidô. The temples at the former place have been

CHAP. XIX. 1869. entirely stripped of their images, and Shintô shrines take their place; at Fujisawa no change is visible in the great temple. The reason is that at Kamakura there was a mixture of the two religions, and the temples have been *purified*; at Fujisawa there was and is pure Buddhism.

CHAPTER XX.

1870.

Results of two preceding years.—Persecution and deportation of native Christians at Urakami.—Protests of Representatives, and Conference with members of Government.— Condition of deported Christians.—Cruelty in Kaga.—Mr. Troup's Mission.—Second attempt at a Parliament.—Its failure.—Discontent, especially in Satsuma clan.—Suicide of Yokoyama Shôtarô.—His memorial.—Satsuma Troops return home.—Local disturbances in different places.— Evidence of startling change.—Japan becomes attracted to Western civilization.

WE have seen that the year 1868 was for Japan a CHAP year of eventful changes; the shôgunate was destroyed, Results of the governing power was restored to the Mikado, and, 1868. after a civil war of some months' duration, the Imperial arms had triumphed, and his Majesty was installed before the end of the year in the Castle at Yedo.

In 1869 the work of reconstruction was fairly Reconstruction of 1869. commenced, the daimios offered up the lists of their possessions and men to the sovereign; their very name, as well as that of the Court nobles or kugés, was abolished, and they became governors of their former principalities under his Majesty.

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This was the commencement of the attempt to consolidate the Empire into one strong central Government, with the Mikado, who had emerged from his obscurity and isolation, as the one visible head.

Persecution of native

The first and most important event of the year Christians at Urakami. was the persecution of the unfortunate native Christians near Nagasaki. On the 7th of January, Sawa and Terashima, Minister and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, addressed the following note to the Representatives of Treaty Powers:—

Translation.

Note to Representa-tives.

"SIR,—During the examination of the native Christians at Urakami, in the Nagasaki ken, in the course of last year, it was found necessary to hand over a number of them to the keeping of daimios, to be employed by them for the usual obligatory services of the peasantry. The breaking out of the internal war interrupted these proceedings; but now, at the time of restoration of universal peace, our Government finds itself also obliged to remove the remaining portion of these men. Their hostile attitude towards their fellow-townsmen, resulting often in serious outbreaks and quarrels, interferes with the peaceful government of our subjects. It has been therefore decided that they are to be divided among different clans, where they are to be treated as their own subjects, and are to perform the same obligatory services.

"Knowing well how ready some persons will be to take advantage of this measure to spread false reports, whilst the intention of our Government is sincere in avoiding all harsh or severe action, we have the honour to make to you this communication, which we

hope will guide you in the consideration of this question.

" We are," &c.

Sir H. Parkes happened to be at Nagasaki on the Sir H. Parkes's 3rd of January, and he there learnt, as he himself action at Nagasaki. related in a note addressed to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs from Hiôgo on the 7th, that the local Government had issued orders for the immediate removal of nearly the whole of the male population of the neighbouring village of Urakami, solely because they continued, as they had done for a long time past, to profess the Christian faith. It appeared that the order had been issued in the most sudden and peremptory manner; the first notice was given on the evening of the 1st, when the men in question were summoned to appear in the Government office at Nagasaki on the following day, in order to be put on board two steamers, then waiting to receive them, and to convey them away from their homes and families to the places selected for their exile.

"They had," Sir Harry Parkes continued, "committed no offence, but, on the contrary, had industriously followed their agricultural pursuits; and only twenty days before the issue of the above order they had paid in the taxes due on the harvest which they had just husbanded. On hearing that they were to be torn from their homes, many of these poor people fled in dismay to the adjoining hills, while about one hundred and fifty presented themselves at the Govern-Thus their families were suddenly dement office. prived of means of support, and a peaceful village was converted into a scene of general distress."

Sir H. Parkes immediately sought an interview

with the Chikenji, or Governor of the ken of Nagasaki, named Nomura Goi, who visited him on the afternoon of the 3rd, accompanied by Watanabé, an official of the Censorate. They both confirmed the correctness of the above account of the proceedings against Christians.

The note continued as follows:—

"They were acting, they said, upon orders received from Yedo, and Watanabé had been specially sent from the capital to see to the execution of these orders which were to the effect that the remainder of the Christians within the jurisdiction of Nagasaki, numbering, according to their estimate," between one and two thousand souls, were all to be sent into exile.

"The Undersigned explained with much earnestness to these officers the assurance which he and the ministers of the Treaty Powers had received on the subject a year ago from the Government of his Majesty the Tennô, and pointed out that the steps they were now taking were wholly opposed to those assurances. The Tennô's Government had promised the foreign Representatives, in a letter written in January last, that their treatment of the native Christians would be marked by the progressive spirit of the age; that they were sensible that it would be an offence to all those Christian nations with whom Japan wished to cultivate friendly relations to prosecute Japanese subjects simply because they professed the religion of those nations, and that the Government of the Tennô had determined to maintain no longer the old severe laws against Christianity, but would adopt in place of them a mild and lenient course of action. Although the Undersigned was not called on to discuss with local

^{*} There were nearly 3000.

officers a subject which had already been so fully considered with the Japanese Government, he did not fail to point out to them that the persecution of native Christians would bring discredit upon their country, and might gravely prejudice the relations of Japan with foreign states, as the latter could scarcely fail to regard such proceedings as unfriendly to themselves.

"Nomura Goi and Watanabé retired to consider

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"Nomura Goi and Watanabé retired to consider the remonstrances of the Undersigned, but, on visiting him again on the morning of the 4th, they informed him that no other course was open to them but to carry out their orders.

"The Undersigned repeated his conviction that their action must be founded upon some misconception of the orders of the supreme Government. He therefore urged that further proceedings should be delayed, and that Watanabé should accompany the Undersigned to Yedo, to confer with the supreme Government; but, unfortunately, Nomura Goi and Watanbé declined to entertain this proposal.

"It only remains, therefore, for the Undersigned to forward this protest against the proceedings of these officers to their Excellencies the Japanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs, in order that it may be laid without delay before the Government of his Majesty the Tennô. He expects to return to Yokohama in a few days, and he will then join his colleagues, the Representatives of the other Treaty Powers, in such further steps as they and he may think it advisable to adopt. But in the mean time he trusts that the Tennô's Government will at once see the necessity of disavowing and putting a stop to the proceedings of the Nagasaki officers. He abstains from offering comment upon the dangerous consequences which a revival of the persecution of

CHAP. XX. 1870. native Christians is calculated to occasion, until he is informed whether the Japanese Government is really responsible for so ill-advised a measure. He cannot suppose it possible that, after treating this important question with such commendable moderation during the past year, the Government of his Majesty the Tennô should have suddenly entered on a contrary course, opposed alike to the assurances they had given to the foreign Representatives and to the spirit of enlightenment and of progress by which they have declared themselves to be guided. By such a course Japan could not fail to forfeit the good opinion of all Western states, and to throw doubt upon the earnestness of her professed desire to cultivate friendly relations with those states.

"Their Excellencies cannot suppose that the Undersigned, in presenting this remonstrance to the Government of the Tennô, seeks for a moment to interfere in the internal affairs of Japan; but the unfortunate proceedings of the Nagasaki officers above detailed justify-him in pointing out to his Majesty's Government that they should be prepared, as he trusts is the case, to abstain from acts by which the feelings of all the Treaty Powers will be outraged, if they really seek to maintain with those Powers the cordial understanding which the Undersigned hoped had been established."

It should also be mentioned that the consuls of the Treaty Powers, resident at Nagasaki, had at once addressed a protest against these proceedings to the Chikenji.

Nor were the Representatives of France, the United States, and the North German Confederation idle at Yokohama. They too forwarded protests to

Yedo, in the same sense, and after Sir H. Parkes's return, a joint note was addressed to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, and a conference was held on the 19th of January at Yedo between the foreign Repre- Conference at Yedo. sentatives, and Sanjô, Iwakura, Sawa, Terashima, and some subordinate officials.

The arguments of the Representatives can well be on either side. imagined, and need hardly be repeated here. strong points were that the Imperial Government had already given a promise to the foreign Representatives to treat native Christians leniently, and that such cruel proceedings would engender ill feelings in the Christian countries to which Japan was bound by treaties.

The general arguments of the Japanese, whether on this or other occasions, with respect to this particular case in point, may be expressed as follows:—

The movement against native Christians originated with the bakufu. Their laws against Japanese professing this faith were most severe, and the punishments excessive.

The present Government have been much more. lenient. They have never allowed the practice of trampling on Christian images, nor have they interfered with the rights of foreigners by treaty to build places of worship, and to exercise their religion at the open ports. They have acted in all respects in accord-They have listened to the ance with the treaties. friendly advice of foreigners, and they considered that they were treating the Christians leniently. (In this, I need hardly observe, no foreigner could agree.) They did not look upon the sentence of dispersion as by any means a severe one. They knew of none lighter, according to their laws, and it is certainly lenient compared with the old laws.

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They complained that the French priests about Nagasaki exceeded the rights accorded by treaty. They averred that those priests went about among the natives, often in disguise, and converted them, thus practising a system of propagandism; that they promised their misguided people that if the Japanese authorities troubled them, they would obtain protection for them from the French authorities; that thus troubles and broils arose; that the native Christians had become overbearing and insulting towards their countrymen of the national faith; that they defied the native authorities; that they showed contempt for the Mikado, and also for the Buddhist religion, by defacing the images of gods; that the village had become a species of asylum, where robbers and other criminals could find refuge by turning Christians.

For these reasons, said the Japanese authorities, we must prohibit Christianity; this faith is dangerous to the State; it incites to rebellion, and to disrespect for the Emperor. Respect for his Majesty is the foundation of our polity, and if we do not put this foreign religion down, our very existence as a Government is in danger. There are some things on which a nation's life depends, and at this juncture, when there is a strong party in the country which abhors Christianity, we, who are a new Government, but lately established, and still far from all-powerful, cannot run counter to the general opinion. As in Western countries there are some measures which Governments are forced to adopt because they would not be able to overcome the feelings of the people by following the opposite course, so we in Japan cannot do violence to the feelings of our countrymen by tolerating Christianity at the present day.

Foreigners too must recollect that Japan was now what Europe was two or three hundred years ago. History records the violent prejudices then existing between people of different faiths, the continual religious wars, and the tortures inflicted on those who would not recant.

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One of the most distinguished members of the Government argued in this wise:—

The Mikado's Government had always desired to maintain friendly relations with foreigners; this they had proved by listening to the advice of the Representatives, and by yielding to their arguments when the question was one of foreign policy; they had made treaties with other nations, and they knew that they had thereby incurred obligations, and that they must alter their line of conduct in consequence. But they considered the Christian question as one entirely of domestic polity, with which foreigners had nothing to do, and in which they must take and keep to their own course. As far as the anti-foreign party was concerned, they had battled with it, and would continue to do so, and the numbers of that party were much diminished; they considered they could cope with it, they must keep it within bounds because of the treaties, and when they were taunted with having yielded to foreign dictation, they had a valid reason to give for their conduct. But that reason would not hold good with respect to the Christian question, and if in this case they altered their policy, they could not meet the accusation of having done so through foreign dictation. If then they were to follow the advice of the Representatives, and not deport these Christians, the Government might fall, and what would be the consequence? Why, their

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successors would doubtless be hostile to foreigners, all the good work of the last two years would be thrown away, trade would be stopped, and even war might ensue—a state of things highly to be deprecated.

No doubt, said this Japanese, the hostility to native Christians, and such treatment of them, are the result of ignorance; but then Japan is not yet civilized according to European notions, and such civilization throughout the Empire can only be the work of time.

The Ministers indeed, at the interview, agreed to reconsider the question, and to order that, pending such reconsideration, the deportation of native Christians should be suspended; but it was too late, the unfortunate people had already been severed from their homes, and the peremptory instruction of the Imperial Government had already been obeyed. It was, however, promised that these exiles should be leniently and humanely treated.

Their condition.
Not in general persecuted, but placed apart in idleness.

The unfortunate Christians who were thus dispersed in bodies to different parts of the Empire were not in general persecuted, or treated with inhumanity, but their condition was by no means a happy one. In some towns they were placed in buildings by themselves, where they were left without employment to brood over their hard fate, with scanty fare, and it was intimated to them that they could obtain their liberty, and be restored to their homes, upon condition of abjuring the Christian faith. No wonder that melancholy came over many of these people, and that deaths were not unfrequent among their number; some of the weaker brethren naturally did recant, and were sent home accordingly, whilst those who had more courage and faith remained in what could only be called their prisons.

Some recant and are sent home.

But in the province of Kaga reports of downright cruelty reached Yokohama, and Sir H. Parkes thought it expedient, in the interests of humanity, to send Kaga. Mr. Troup, Acting Consul at Niigata, to the spot, to mission. examine into the condition of the native Christians there. It was arranged with the Government that, on their part, they should despatch an official named Midzuno, to assist in the investigation.

When Mr. Troup arrived in Kaga he quickly discovered that the condition of the Christians had been much improved of late, and this no doubt was due to the knowledge conveyed to the authorities of his intended visit. In several instances the exiles had been removed to more suitable dwellings, under pretence that their former habitations required repair. Still there were evident signs that they had been cruelly treated, and that the promises given by the Government to the foreign Representatives had not been kept. Husbands had been separated from their wives, and children from their parents; no land had been allotted to the exiles; in many instances their food was insufficient, only being increased on condition of their recanting, and for the most part they lived in a state of complete idleness, no suitable employment being provided for them.

These Christians were distributed at Kanasawa, Daishôji, and Tozama. At the latter place positive cruelty was exercised, iron rings attached to the floor being fastened round the necks of men and women who would not recant.

Mr. Troup's mission was productive of essential Its good results. good, and the report of Midzuno did not differ from his in any essential. The Government frankly acknowledged that the promises given to the foreign

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Reprimand to Tozama authorities. Representatives had not been fulfilled in Kaga, and stated their determination to see their orders duly executed in the future, so that the exiles should be humanely treated. The Government Gazette of the 25th of June contained a copy of a severe reprimand addressed to the Tozama han for their treatment of "the adherents of the foreign sect" entrusted to their charge, and it was stated that such occurrences were not to be permitted in future, because this question of "the adherents of the foreign sect" was one connected with his Majesty's relations with foreign countries.*

Second attempt at a Parliament. The first attempt at a Parliament having proved a failure, another attempt was made this year, with perhaps equal want of success.

The proclamation convoking the Assembly stated that in the previous year many persons were returned as members who had never in any way participated in the administration of the clan to which they belonged, and who could, consequently, not represent correctly its public opinion. "In view, therefore," says the document, "of the opening of the approaching session, only such persons should be elected as are thoroughly conversant with the administration and affairs of their han, and who shall, therefore, be in a position to represent with authority the state of public opinion therein, and to suggest measures of a genuinely practical character."

And we find that at the preparatory meeting, held on the 2nd of June, to draw up the rules of business, 189 members, being more than two-thirds of the

^{*} According to information from Japan, all the survivors of the exiles of 1870 were finally restored to their homes in 1873. The repeated representations and protests from members of the diplomatic body thus bore good fruit at last.

whole House, took their seats for the first time, and that each member belonged to the han which he represented; such was not exclusively the case in the Assembly of 1869.

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The House was opened with some ceremony on the House. 26th of June, but it was found that the members wasted Its failure. a great deal of time in discussing the details of the future administration of the han, and were so generally wanting in the necessary information, that they were eventually sent home, with the object of qualifying themselves for the task they had been set to perform.

In the autumn of the year signs were not wanting Discontent, especially that, although there had been no serious outbreak, in Satsuma clan. much discontent was felt in different quarters. Satsuma clan were by no means satisfied with the share they possessed in the Government. They looked upon themselves as the principal agents in the revolution which restored the governing power into the hands of the Mikado, and they considered that the present administration was too much in the hands of certain nobles of the Court, who had till lately lived all their lives shut up in Kiôto, and who did not know how to carry on business.

The Dajôkan, which may be called the Privy Composition of Council, or the Cabinet, consisted of:—

Sanjô Udaijin-(former kugé). Iwakura Dainagon Tokudaiji Nabéshima ,, (ex-Prince of Hizen). Ôkubo Sangi (Satsuma). Soyéjima,, (Hizen). Ôkuma " Hirozawa " (Chôshiu). Kido Sasaki (Tosa).

CHAP. XX. 1870. Under the Dajôkan were the ministers of the different departments, who were called to take part in the Cabinet Councils of the Government when any question relating to their departments was to be discussed. Sometimes they were all called in to deliberate upon a matter of great importance. Sanjô presided in the absence of the Mikado, and I believe I am right in saying that he and Iwakura formed a sort of superior Council with his Majesty, to discuss matters of State.

It will thus be seen that Satsuma was only represented in the Dajôkan by the Sangi * Ôkubo. One day we were startled to hear of a suicide having been committed in the street, outside the yashiki of the Kagoshima han (Satsuma). The matter was referred to the Danjôtai,† and they subsequently presented the following memorial to the Privy Council:—

* May be translated "Councillor of State."

† The Danjôtai or Censorate was first established in the reign of Kôtoku Tennô (645-654), and the duty of the officials composing it was to determine all kinds of offences. reign of Junna (824—833) the Kebihishi was established to try offences committed by the common people, and the duties of the Danjôtai were diminished to that extent. In the reign of Nimmiô (834—850) the Kebihishi was converted into a general police-office for the apprehension of criminals, and the Danjôtai was made the court in which they were tried when caught. In the 11th century the duties of the Danjôtai were again curtailed to those of a police-office for the capital. The Giôbushô seems to have been a civil court, and also to have had the power of commuting sentences of exile into fines of so many hundred After the 11th century its authority became catties of copper. merely nominal.

The Danjôtai was a sort of supreme court, more particularly for political offences.—E. S.

[Translation.]

"On the 27th of the 7th month a samurai of the Suicide of Kagoshima han, named Yokoyama Shôtarô, impelled Shôtarô by a desire to ameliorate the Government, and by a Satsuma praiseworthy anxiety to make some return for the benefits he had received from his country, presented to the Parliament a memorial containing ten articles of counsel for the times, and requesting that it should be entertained even at the cost of his life, he proceeded straightway to the front of his yashiki, and there, with repeated gashes, cut his belly open. Fortunately, before life was quite extinct, a fellow-clansman saw him, and, by the application of surgical remedies, brought him to sufficiently to inquire what motive had impelled him to the commission of the deed. reply the dying man handed to him a copy of the memorial, which was thus sure to reach the notice of the Government, and immediately expired, with an expression of joy beaming on his countenance. Surely such a fate is to be pitied and deplored in proportion as such men are rare in the age on which we have fallen. There are, indeed, wise men and there are foolish; and in wisdom there are degrees more or less; but putting aside altogether for the present the question of the wisdom of the counsel which he offered to his Majesty, and looking only to the motive which prompted his action, and to the spirit by which he was animated, it does not admit of doubt that he was actuated solely by a feeling of the purest patriotism. Now that an enlightened Sovereign sits upon the throne and is aided by a prudent Prime Minister, that an assembly of able men has been called together, whereby access to the Imperial ear has been thrown open, that we have fallen upon times

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yashiki in Yedo. Re-port of Danjôtai.

CHAP. XX. 1870. when every effort is requisite for the good governing of the country, it would surely not be the part of a good Emperor, who loves his people, to turn away from samurai, such as this man was, to show a want of sympathy for motives such as his. humbly and earnestly beg of the Government, therefore, is that, adopting such part of his counsel as may be worthy to be adopted, and exercising consideration for such of it as may be otherwise, they vouchsafe an expression of approval of his motive, even though his action be condemned. If, by the adoption of this course, men be encouraged to express their opinions living, will not every one more earnestly exert his energies in his country's cause, and will not an honourable report attach to the name of the man who died?

"Your servants in venturing, in violation of the reverence due to his august Majesty, to present this memorial, take the liberty to append also the report of the officer of our department, who held the inquest. We earnestly entreat that our representation be favourably considered, and that without delay publicity be given to the expression of approval we ask for; and if this our request be granted, not only will your servants rejoice, but the thousands and ten thousands of the people will receive it as a happy omen.

"Presented with profound respect,
"The Danjôtal."

His memorial respecting alleged abuses. The memorial of Yokoyama Shôtarô, dated the 27th day of the 7th month, contained a number of somewhat general charges against the Government. It inveighed against the alleged luxury of the Prime Minister, the selfishness of officials, and the vacillation

in the Imperial policy; it complained that the expense of travelling, transport, and communication of every kind had been raised more than twenty per cent.; that no respect was paid to principle, and that men were not sought out for offices, but offices for men; that in consequence of the heedless levity with which the treaties were entered into, foreign relations were fraught with questions which might at any moment embroil Japan in strife.

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Another memorial is said to have been found on Yokoyama's person, containing an argument against the favourite project with many Japanese, a war with Corea.

Beside these general accusations, the Satsuma clan other seem to have had certain particular grounds of com- complaints of the clan. plaint against the Government. I was informed, for instance, that they had begged that Enomoto should be pardoned and given employment, and, when this was refused, that he should be delivered over to their keeping, which request was also rejected. There may also well have been jealousy of the increasing influence of the Hizen clan in the councils of the Mikado, two of the Sangi belonging to that clan, whereas only one came from Satsuma.

Be all this as it may, the troops of the han in Its troops Yedo were shortly afterwards taken back by sea to by sea. Satsuma, and though the discontent, which certainly existed for some time subsequently at Kagoshima, may have been more particularly confined to the soldiers hot-blooded young men of the most military clan in Japan, who had nothing to do, and were devoted to their service--still it was a matter which must occupy the attention of the advisers of his Majesty.

There were various disturbances in different parts

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of the Empire, none of any great importance, and to be put down in the category of ikki, or popular tumults. Such disturbances are not of rare occur-Mostly ikki. rence, being the usual remedy of the Japanese peasants against the exactions and ill-treatment of the local administrations, and are therefore in general to be looked upon as attacks on them, and not on the Imperial authority.

In Kashiwazaki.

For instance, in the province of Echigo there is a town on the coast called Kashiwazaki, which gave its name to a ken running far up into the plain to the mountain range dividing Echigo from the former Aidzu country. The Chikenji imposed upon the inhabitants certain taxes previously unknown, a proceeding which met with considerable resistance from the peasantry. He then declared a large amount of paper money, which had been paid into the local treasury on account of taxes, to be spurious, had the notes cut in half lengthways, and one half of each note was returned to the tax-payers, with an order to replace the same by genuine notes. This arbitrary measure caused great excitement throughout the ken, more especially as the same portion was not always returned, so that a strong suspicion arose that only half the whole amount of paper money had been divided, and that the other half had been appropriated by the officials.

The peasantry upon this rose in revolt, and demanded that the order should be revoked, and the excitement reached such a height that the governor was finally obliged to yield to this outburst of popular feeling, and to satisfy the just demand of the aggrieved people.

Again, the peasants of about 250 villages in the

In Hikoné.

territory of Hikoné, in Ômi, came to Hikoné, and made a disturbance, advancing to the front gate of the castle, and firing three shots against it. The cause was stated to be that a certain treasury official, originally a dealer in grain, had previously bought up nearly all the rice in the territory, besides some at Ôzaka, and that a great storm having raised the price of the article enormously, he had made a profit of 70,000 riôs by selling his stores. It was further stated that the people had been excited by a story of his using supernatural means to bring about this storm, and that this, added to his bad reputation, had caused the disturbance; that his town and country houses, his furniture, and his relations' residence had been destroyed; that he then fled to the castle, and that it was in pursuing him that the people had fired at the gate.

A number of two-sworded retainers appear to have taken part in the tumult, which threatened at one time to become serious, but by the use of military force it was put down in forty-eight hours.

The participation of samurai was probably due, Participation of this and other cases, to the discontent felt by many samurai. of that class, owing to the reforms and changes which affected them personally.

The year 1870 was not so eventful as its two immediate predecessors. But although discontent was still manifest, it was a year of peace, during which some progress was made in the work of consolidation and centralization.

It was evident, indeed, to the most superficial Evidence of observer, that a most startling change was coming than the change in Japan. over the nation. The Japanese were beginning, one may say, to cast their old skin, and to abandon their

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Chinese learning, &c., discarded for Western ~ civilization.

chinese learning and the civilization which they had mostly borrowed from their neighbours, and, with their quick, volatile natures, were becoming attracted to the civilization of their foreign allies. The change was not confined to the samurai. The Mikado and his relations were even affected by it, and on this subject it is useful to read the commencement of the year's retrospect in the Japan Weekly Mail.*

Retrospect in Japan Weekly Mail.

"The Mikado has remained in Tôkei, which, we may now say, has definitely become the capital of the Empire, all the departments of the Government being in full and permanent function within its precincts. The old seclusion of Kiôto is still more manifestly abandoned, and twice within the course of the year his Majesty has shown his august countenance to crowds of his own subjects, both high and low, in the broad daylight. On the 7th of May he proceeded on horseback from his palace through the streets of Yedo to Komaba-no-hara, a spot about five miles distant, and there reviewed a force consisting of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. All along the line of road, his wellconducted subjects were silently awaiting his arrival, and thousands, both of the two-sworded class and of the common people, were permitted to gaze, for the first time, upon the face of the 'Son of Heaven.' Again, on the 3rd of October, nothing daunted by the inclemency of the weather, his Majesty rode out to another review in the same public manner.

"The political significancy of such acts as these cannot be too highly estimated. And it is not only in the person of the Emperor himself that a marked

change is apparent among those who are highest in the land. This year has seen two Princes of the Blood leave the sacred shores of Japan, bound, one to the United States, the other to England, with the express purpose of making a long sojourn in foreign parts, and of prosecuting a regular course of study. This innovation has clearly been the result of much reflection on the part of the Emperor and his chief councillors, and has proceeded from a profound sense of the new phase upon which Japan is entering. They have wisely determined to lead the movement which they are aware can no longer, even if they desired it, be checked throughout the nation. If, as we are informed and believe, the present sovereign is taking an active part in the government of the country, it is clear that he must renounce the life of seclusion which was led by his predecessors, and was founded on the hypothesis of their divine origin. All honour then to his Majesty for having taken the first step. It is no light thing for the descendant of the gods to emerge from his retreat, and show his divine countenance to the people; it is no light thing too for his relations, one of whom might some day even ascend the throne, to put away their native attire, and clothing themselves after the manner of Europeans, go forth into the outer world, mixing with other nations as ordinary visitors of high rank, nay, with even less than customary outward pomp and circumstance. A year or two ago such events were not possible. would have inordinately shocked the Japanese mind,

and could not have been ventured upon without dan-

ger. Indeed, no greater proof of the change which

is fast coming over the nation can well be adduced

than these doings of the Imperial house in 1870."

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Samurai begin to adopt
European dress and to lay aside swords.

At the same time the *samurai* were extensively adopting European dress, and consequently laying by their swords; they were giving up their ancient diet of rice, vegetables, and fish, and were taking to beef and beer; they were applying themselves to the study of foreign languages, and were going abroad in ever-increasing numbers.

Telegraph between Yedo and Yokohama. Contract for railway. Light-houses.

In the matter of the adoption of European inventions, the telegraph was in full working order between Yokohama and Yedo, and a contract for the construction of a railroad between those two points was concluded. Lighthouses, too, were springing up, one after the other, under the able superintendence of Mr. Brunton, the English engineer. Everywhere activity and change were observable.

CHAPTER XXI.

1871.

Mission of Iwakura to Kagoshima.—Object to cause the three Clans to rally round the Throne.—Its success.—An Imperial Army to be formed.—Revolutionary proceedings in Kiushiu. —Plots of Kiheitai.—Disturbances in Matsushirô han and Nakano ken.

In the month of January, 1871, it was reported that the Dainagon Iwakura, who had left Yedo Mission of towards the end of 1870, to take the baths at Arima, Kagoshima. near Kiôto, having been joined by the Sangi Ôkubo, had proceeded with him to Kagoshima. The ostensible object of his mission was to present a sword, in the name of the Emperor, at the shrine of Shôkoku Daimiôjin. This is the posthumous name of the last daimio but one of Satsuma, the uncle of the very last (whom he adopted), and consequently brother of Shimadzu Saburô. He was canonized after death, and his shrine at Kagoshima is in great repute. An Imperial letter was also addressed to Shimadzu Saburô, calling upon him to come to the aid of his sovereign and country, and the Satsuma noble replied in a very characteristic manner, assuming a tone which, whilst it is humble in form, is nevertheless

CHAP. XXI. 1871. remarkable for a certain plain-speaking. A similar letter was addressed to the old Prince of Chôshiu. The old Prince of Tosa, being in Yedo, was summoned to the Mikado's presence, to receive a like communication.

The commission to Iwakura, the Emperor's letter to Shimadzu Saburô, and the latter's reply, were subsequently published, and are worthy of the reader's attention.

[Translation.]

"To IWAKURA DAINAGON,

"His Majesty desires to present a sword to the shrine of Shôkoku Daimiôjin at Kagoshima in Satsuma, and to take an oath to the god to exalt the destinies of the State. You will therefore proceed thither and worship in obedience to this desire of his Majesty.

"Sanjô Sanéyoshi.

"Tokudalji Sanénori.

"OKIMACHI-SANJÔ SANÉNARU."

Mikado's Letter to Shimadzu Ösumi no Kami.

"We gratefully continue in Our person the Great Line, and day and night perform anxiously Our functions. But to Our great regret the Great Laws are not yet rendered effective, nor the ten thousand families yet made happy. The work before Us is truly not easy. We have pondered profoundly over this. Do you, Hisamitsu, become Our right hand and best support, and assist Our deficiencies, and unite in heart and strength with Our assembled servants, so as to aid and perfect the great work. Enable Us to carry out the restoration of the Ancient System.

"We have ordered the Dainagon Tomoyoshi (Iwakura) to inform you of Our sentiments. Hear with reverence.

"To SHIMADZU JIUSAMMI."

Reply of Shimadzu Jiusammi to the Mikado's Letter.

"Your servant Hisamitsu says with reverence:—

"Deigning not to abandon a mean and wretched creature like your servant, your Majesty has condescended to send your glorious commands by the hands of your Majesty's Envoy, Iwakura Dainagon Kiô. He cannot restrain tears of joy at such a signal mark of favour. He listens prostrate to the Imperial decree, and feels that an inferior capacity like his is unequal to this great and important charge. Desiring to express his feelings, he finds himself incapable of doing so. His bowels are rent with the effort.

"He privately thinks that the duty of a great subject to his Prince is one and simple; namely, fidelity alone. To forget himself for the sake of his country is the highest limit which it can reach.

"The order for a reformed system of the Imperial Court having once been sent forth from one centre, who shall gainsay it? What your servant is anxious about is lest the name only should exist and not the reality. At first the name and essence both existed in the highest perfection, but now it seems to have come to the empty name alone being preserved. This is indeed a source of profound sighs. 'If when he frowns he causes fear, and when he is composed tranquillity is preserved, then the country is saved and the dignity of the throne is upheld.'* How can your

^{*} A somewhat inexact quotation from Mencius.—E. S.

CHAP XXI. servant Hisamitsu expect to have influence enough to protect the country? But his bowels overflow with the patriotic desire to do so. He will therefore do what his little strength enables him to do. But unless he depends upon your Majesty's wise and sagacious supernatural virtue, how can he be equal to the work? He prays, therefore, that the heavenly heart may be pure and transparent.

"Your servant Hisamitsu adores your Majesty from afar with genuine fear, bowings of the head, and contempt for death."

"First month."

Real object to cause the three great clans to rully round the throne.

Now, it has been seen that the Mikado's Government rested principally, perhaps almost entirely, on the reverence inspired by his sacred name. This moral force had been assisted by the actual support of the three great clans of Satsuma, Chôshiu, and Tosa, whose princes had taken the lead in surrendering their possessions and men to his Majesty. If now that actual support were greatly weakened, as it most certainly would be by the defection of the powerful Satsuma clan, the moral force of the Mikado's name would hardly be sufficient, in the long run, to maintain the new order of things. Something must be done to cause those three clans to rally round the throne once more, and thus give to the Mikado's Government that stability of which it stood so sorely How was this to be done? One mode in need. presented itself. The clans must support his Majesty with troops, and an Imperial army must be formed.

Imperial army must be formed.

The object of the mission entrusted to Iwakura was therefore clear, and he was successful at Kagoshima. From there he proceeded with Ôkubo

to Chôshiu, whither the Sangi Kido had betaken himself direct from Yedo; a perfect understanding Success of was arrived at in Chôshiu, and Kido and Ôkubo then Negotiation journeyed to Tosa, where they conferred with the Choshiu principal men of that clan.*

The details of the scheme by which the Mikado's Details. authority was to be placed upon a firm and solid foundation were now settled. Each of the three leading clans of the revolution was to furnish to the central Government a certain proportion of troops, who were to be transferred to Yedo, and entirely handed over to the sovereign, for the purpose of forming the nucleus of an Imperial army. Contingents from other clans would be added subsequently. Kagoshima was to furnish the largest quota. The wives and families of the soldiers were also to be removed to the eastern capital. Saigô of Satsuma and Itagaki of Tosa were also to come to Yedo, with the respective Chiji of the clans, and were to become Sangi. In the mean time Iwakura pursued his journey back to Yedo by land, securing on the way the co-operation of the powerful clans of Owari and Hikoné, the former of which had been carried in favour of the Mikado at the time of the revolution, whilst the latter had been alienated from the bakufu by the assassination of the regent Ii Kamon no Kami at the instigation of the old Prince of Mito, father of Kéiki, who had subsequently become shôgun.

Iwakura and the two Sangi had all returned to Orders to three clans Yedo by the end of March, and on the 2nd of April to furnish continthe result of the negotiations became apparent by the gents.

^{*} This and much of what follows will be found in the summary of 1871, published in the Japan Weekly Mail of the 6th of January, 1872.

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issue of orders for the following contingents for an Imperial army to be furnished from the three great clans, namely, four battalions of infantry and four of artillery from Satsuma, three of infantry from Chôshiu, and from Tosa two battalions of infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, and two battalions of artillery.

Revolutionary proceedings in Kiushiu. Plots of kiheitai.

Whilst these measures were being taken to assure the authority of the Government, defiance had been offered to it in several quarters. A conspiracy had been on foot for some months, in which the principal actors were the disbanded men of the famous kiheitai of Chôshiu, and some chief retainers of Kurumé, in Kiushiu, who were joined by the disaffected of several other clans. The design of the conspirators, luckily frustrated, seems to have been to raise the standard of revolt in the Island of Kiushiu, to persuade a number of Higo men to join them and then to march on Kumamoto, Higo's capital, and seize the castle. If they had succeeded in this bold stroke, their next plan was to proceed to Kiôto, and obtaining possession of the person of Rinnôji no Miya, who had, as will be recollected, already been the puppet of the rebels after the taking of Uyéno in 1868, they would have adopted open measures of revolt under the sanctity of the Miya's name, according to true Japanese custom.

On the 8th of January the peasants of the Hita ken in Bungo (Kiushiu), allured by promises of a remission of the land tax, rose against the local officials, and destroyed the Government buildings. They were led on by kiheitai and other kindred spirits, commanded by a well-known rebel called Dairaku Gentarô. But the designs of these reckless men had fortunately been discovered four days pre-

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viously, and information had been sent from Hita to The result was that troops were speedily Nagasaki. despatched from that port and from the surrounding clans, before whom the rônins fled, abandoning their dupes, to Himéshima, an island in the Inland Sea. Dairaku was first said to have escaped to Corea, but afterwards it was reported that he had been assassinated, whilst the others dispersed in bands over the whole country. Troops were despatched in February from Ôzaka to the scene of these disturbances, and to enforce tranquillity in the Hita ken.

About the same time, disturbances were reported ances in Matsushirô han in Shinshiu. For the preceding Matsushirô han. seventy years there had been differences in this clan. It was very poor, and in the time of the bakufu and of the civil war of 1868 had been much impoverished by the levying of contributions. The authorities had consequently issued a quantity of paper money on the security of silk and silkworms' eggs, but had not been able to redeem the same, and they had proposed to accept the notes at a somewhat unfair rate in payment of the land tax. The people were willing to submit to this exaction, and some of them had paid their tax, when, on the 9th of January, one of the principal officials returned from Yedo, and announced that the paper money would be taken at 25 per cent. discount This decision was proclaimed in spite of the remonstrances of his brother officials, and the consequence was a rising among the peasantry, during which a great part of the town and the residence of the obnoxious official were burnt to the ground. The young Chiji (a son of Daté of Uwajima) found himself in such peril that he was compelled to appear in person to the populace, and to promise that all their

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demands should be granted. This concession had the happy effect of restoring tranquillity.

In Nakano ken.

Shortly after this, in the early days of February, the peasantry of the Nakano ken, also in Shinshiu, apparently excited by some Aidzu men who had escaped from their confinement in Takata and Matsushirô, rose against the officials, killed and mutilated one of them, and burnt the Government buildings, while the remaining officials barely escaped with their lives. To quell the disturbance an officer of the War Department, son of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sawa, was despatched on the 13th of Fébruary at the head of some troops. He found the district a complete waste, and his soldiers were compelled to camp out in the snow, which was thick in that region. Nearly all the available habitations had been burnt, but young Sawa met with no opposition on the part of the peasants, whose excitement cooled as soon as they were deserted by their tempters, and he returned to Yedo about the middle of March.

CHAPTER XXII.

1871.

Murderous attack on Messrs. Dallas and Ring.—Punishment of Assassins.—Confusion of Laws.—Murder of Hirozawa Hioské.—Extensive conspiracy.—Two ex-Kugés the nominal Heads.—Capital and other punishments awarded.—Antiforeign cry again heard.—Opening of Mint.—Sir H. Parkes's farewell audiences.

The commencement of the year 1871 was remarkable for another murderous attack upon foreigners. the evening of the 13th of January, as Messrs. Dallas Messrs. and Ring, two English teachers at the Japanese College in Yedo, were walking near the Nihon bashi, they were cut at and severely wounded; the authors of the deed escaped, and the victims struggled into a paper shop, where their wounds were bound with paper, and they subsequently reached their home. They had been on a visit to a friend, and had dismissed their native guards, so that they were unattended by them when attacked, but they were accompanied by a Japanese youth carrying a lantern.

The Government were profuse, and I believe most sincere, in their regrets at this untoward occurrence, just when it was considered that the anti-foreign

On Murderous

CHAP. XXII. 1871. feeling was dying away, and they at once adopted energetic means to arrest the criminals. It would be useless to recount all that took place, and how delay succeeded delay, until at last justice was obtained to the satisfaction of the British Minister.

According to evidence, three men were concerned.

According to the evidence, three men actually attacked the foreigners. Katô Riukichi, of the Kitsuké han, in Kiushiu, and Kurohawa Tomojirô, a runaway from the Sékiyado han, near Yedo, deposed that the two foreigners passed them at the Nihon bashi, and crossed the bridge, a samurai-looking individual preceding them with a lantern; that Riukichi then said to Tomojirô that he would murder the foreigners, and that his companion agreed to assist him; that these two followed their unsuspecting victims for some little way, till, finding a favourable spot, Riukichi proposed to murder them at once; that they then drew their swords, and cut at the foreigners, Riukichi, as it seemed, wounding Mr. Ring, and Tomojirô Mr. Dallas.

These men were only arrested some months after the attack.

Mr. Ring, however, had two wounds, and the other, according to the evidence, was inflicted by another man.

The final confession of Higo Sôhichi, of Satsuma, who was taken up soon after the 13th of January, was that while passing through that part of Yedo called Nabéchô with two companions, one of whom was from four to six yards ahead of him with a lantern, and the other about six yards behind him, two foreigners came running along as if in great confusion and alarm, and brushed against him; that he was suddenly excited to anger thereby, and without

a thought dealt a blow with his sword at one of them, said to be Mr. Ring; that as the affair occurred so suddenly he did not know with any certainty what was the nature of the wound he had inflicted; that he afterwards rejoined his companions, to whom he recounted the circumstances.

This connected story was not obtained without repeated examinations of the prisoners, and much prevarication on their parts. They were, however, continually interrogated, according to Japanese custom, until the officials were able to draw up statements in accordance with each other for their signature.

When it came to decreeing punishment, two Production of New volumes of a book in five volumes called Shinritsu Criminal Code. $k\hat{o}$ ri \hat{o} , or New Criminal Code, were produced by the Government as a newly-compiled publication containing the Criminal Code then in force in Japan. The code was in some respects singular, but it was at least satisfactory to find that the Government of the Mikado had turned their attention to so important a subject, and were able at last to show printed authority for their practice in criminal matters.

According to this code, the man who conceives the idea of a murder is the principal, and the others who join with him are accomplices, and when the victim does not die, the former is condemned to death by strangulation, and to the latter is awarded the third degree of exile, i.e. exile for life with a certain amount of hard labour. For the present, however, inasmuch as there is as yet no convict settlement in Japan, ten years of hard labour are substituted for the third degree of exile.

Higo Sôhichi and Katô Riukichi were therefore

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Two condemned to death by strangulation, and third to ten years' hard labour.

condemned to death by strangulation, and Kurohawa Tomojirô to ten years of hard labour. The three were first, as was usual, to be degraded from the class of samurai. The two companions of Higo were also sentenced on the same morning to ninety days' confinement in their own houses, and the youth who was with Messrs. Dallas and Ring at the time of the attack was sentenced to thirty days' similar confinement, for having run away from the scene of the action, and not having reported the matter at once to the authorities.

Mr. Satow was deputed by Sir H. Parkes to hear the sentences passed. This took place early on the morning of the 17th of May. The two criminals, who were to suffer death, were then conducted to another building, and there underwent the penalty. Mr. Satow verified their bodies after death.

Sentences made known by a proclamation.

The sentences were made known in the following important proclamation, which was at once posted in various public places at Yedo, and afterwards elsewhere.

[Translation.]

"On the night of the 13th of January certain persons wounded some Englishmen in Nabéchô, in Kanda. Vigilant search was made for them, and having been arrested they have been punished in the manner shown in the annexed documents.

"Intercourse with foreign nations is a matter of the highest moment, and his Majesty has therefore issued repeated proclamations on the subject. That such acts should be committed in spite of them not only involves the credit of the Government, but is a disgrace to the country.

"Every measure must be taken throughout the jurisdiction of the fu, han, and ken, to prevent the occurrence of such offences.

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(Signed)

"DAJÔKAN.

"Third month."

Messrs. Dallas and Ring recovered from their compensation to wounds, and each received a compensation in money Messrs. Dallas and from the Government, in whose service they were at Ring. the time of the attack.

The Japanese Government thus acted most loyally in the matter, and the persistent exertions of Sir H. Parkes on behalf of his countrymen bore their fruits. It was perhaps the more important that the offenders should be brought to justice, because one of them belonged to that Satsuma clan, which plays so considerable a part in Japanese politics, and there were not wanting indications that its influential men were putting a strain upon the Government to save their clansman from a dishonourable death.

It may perhaps be considered by some that death was an excessive punishment in a case where the Englishmen had escaped with their lives, but it has justly been remarked that the laws of civilized countries are no measure of crimes committed in a society still tinged with barbarism, and the sentences were in strict accordance with the new Penal Code.

There was, no doubt, a confusion of laws in Japan. Confusion of laws in The following information was obtained from a high Japan. Information official, and I give it as it was imparted:—

official.

"When in old times the Emperor really possessed the governing power, there were laws of Japan. When the power fell out of his hands, and different chieftains seized different territories, they made their own laws.

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"In each town belonging to the shôgun, during the Tokugawa dynasty, there were a Machibugiô (civil governor) and certain subordinate officials. When there was a question of decapitation, the Machibugiô could not properly order the man's head to be cut off on his own responsibility. If in Yedo, his duty was to report to the rôjiu for permission, if in Ôzaka or Kiôto, to the shôgun's Resident at the latter place, and permission would doubtless be given. In fact, it is probable that the man was generally decapitated first, and permission asked afterwards. At the end of the year the shôgun reported to the Emperor how many heads had been cut off in the last twelve months, and inasmuch as every man was considered to be the property of his Majesty, the shôgun paid to the latter a small sum amounting to 100 tempos a-head. The law also was that each daimio should pay a similar fine for each head cut off in his territory to the shôgun, who handed it to the Emperor. It was 'bad money,' and could not be used by his Majesty, except for purposes of charity, &c.

"The present laws are a sort of amalgamation of the original laws and of those in use during the time of the bakufu."

Murder of Hirozawa Hioské. On the night of the 26th of February, another of those political assassinations took place in Yedo, which are unfortunately but too common in Japan. The victim was the Sangi Hirozawa Hioské, formerly a member of the Chôshiu clan, and one of the chief agents in the revolution of 1868.

It appears that there had been a review of troops, that Hirozawa was present, and having received information respecting certain men in Yedo who were

supposed to be conspiring against the Government, he

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gave orders for the arrest of a man of the Yanagawa han, in Kiushiu. That same night, whilst sleeping on the mats with his wife, he was murdered. The ruffian is said to have opened one of the wooden shutters, which at night close the outside of the verandah running round a Japanese house, to have stepped upon the verandah, and, making a hole in one of the paper squares in the usual wood and paper slide on the inner side of the verandah, to have peeped into Hirozawa's bedroom. Seeing the two asleep, he noiselessly pushed open the slide, crept in, fell upon the Sangi, and killed him at once with his sword; then he threw himself upon the woman, bound her, and asked her for money; she replied that she had none; ultimately he let her loose, and escaped before she, in her fright, could give the alarm. Every means which the Government possessed Fruitless to

assassin. Their alarm was sufficiently attested by the issue of an order on the following day, by which it was directed that for the future four sentries should be stationed day and night at each of the gates of the castle, and that no person should be allowed to pass in or out between sunset and sunrise, unless provided with a proper pass. These sentries were only removed towards the end of the year, on the arrival from Satsuma of a large body of troops, with the object of exercising the functions of a police force throughout

general danger was felt to be so great, that orders were

given to the authorities of the cities of Yedo, Kiôto,

and Ozaka, and to those of the open ports, to take

such measures as they might think necessary for the

the jurisdiction of the Yedo Government.

were made use of without success to capture the discover the assassin.

CHAP. XXII. 1871. safety of the communities under their charge. In consequence of the instructions thus received, the existing guard-houses were doubled, and the settlement of Kôbé, which had hitherto been entirely free from these restrictions on intercourse between natives and foreigners, was surrounded by a cordon of posts which was a source of great annoyance and irritation to the latter.

Documents wherein Mikado and Sanjô acknowledge inability of Government to protect lives of chief servants.

The murderer, however, of Hirozawa had escaped, and fifty days afterwards the Mikado and his Prime Minister, Sanjô, had to acknowledge the incapacity of the Government to protect the lives even of their chief servants.

Imperial Decree.

[Translation.]*

Sangi is a proof that We cannot protect the lives of Our chief servants. The brigand has escaped. Since the reformation of the Government three of Our chief servants have been murdered.† This is caused by Our incompetence, and by the non-establishment of the laws, and the non-execution of the essentials of government. We deeply regret this. Do you therefore give orders throughout the Empire to pursue the search with strictness, and give certain promise of capturing the brigand."

[Translation.]*

"The enclosed decree, which has just been published, says that at the present moment the laws have not been established, and the essentials of government have not been put in execution. All this is caused by

- * Translated by Mr. Satow.
- † The two others were Yokoi Heishirô and Ômura Masujirô.

Sanéyoshi and the rest not fulfilling their duties. is now fifty days since the wretch who murdered the chief subject (Minister) escaped, and he has not yet been captured. This is truly a humiliating fact for me. I will therefore take the Imperial decree to heart, make strict and searching inquiries, till, by capturing the brigand, I may do my best to set the Imperial bosom at rest.

(Signed) "UDAIJIN SANÉYOSHI.

"Second month."

All, however, was in vain, and to this day the assassin has not been brought to justice.

In the early part of May a large number of arrests Discovery of an extenwere made in Yedo and Kiôto, and it transpired spiracy. Shortly after that another extensive conspiracy, headed Yedo and Kiôto. by two young men belonging to families originally in the class of kugé, had been in existence for some months.

These two nobles, named Tozama and Otagi, were Two exdoubtless, as they have been described to me, "only heads. Violent schemes of the connothing, and merely the tools of others." They were spirators. induced to imagine themselves unfairly dealt with in the distribution of office and power, and they became the nominal leaders of violent schemes.

Two of Otagi's retainers, being discontented with the Government, were desirous of making known their views on reform to the Emperor, and they intended, in case these views were not adopted, to make an attempt to stir up the clans, overturn the Government, and, carrying off his Majesty to the western capital, to reform (such was their expression) the actual constitution. They had accomplices, and CHAP. XXII. 1871.

all desired Otagi, as a man of good family, to be their leader. To this, in an evil hour, he consented. Among the conspirators were men from Akita in the north, and from Yanagawa and Kurumé, in Kiushiu. The plot appears to have been discovered in April, and it was then proposed to Otagi, by one of the men, that Yedo should be burnt, and an appeal made to arms. To this heinous proposition Otagi did not give his assent, and he, as well as others of the band, were subsequently arrested.

But there were other conspirators whose aims were equally revolutionary. From the declaration of a Tosa samurai, called Horinouchi Seinoshin, the dimensions and gravity of the projects on foot can more clearly be gathered. Adverting to the murder of Ômura Masujirô, he denounced him as "a traitor imbued with foreign vices," and he declared the change in the policy of the Imperial Court, since the restoration, to be the result of the traitorous schemes harboured by Ômura and others. The scene then shifts in 1870 to the Island of Kiushiu, where plots were being hatched by members of various clans to combine with the kiheitai, in order to carry out the old scheme of "the expulsion of the barbarians." The attitude of the Kagoshima han was canvassed; it was hinted that, though outwardly obedient to the Imperial Court, their real sentiments might be different, and a proposition was made that an interview should be sought with Saigô Kichinoské, who was one of the most famous men of the present day, and whose fame had extended to foreign countries. If he did not prove amenable to the wishes of the conspirators, Horinouchi was determined to slay him on the spot.

This cold-blooded proposition came to nothing, but Horinouchi continued his plotting, and eventually reached Yedo, where he was put into communication with Otagi, and he, too, was arrested in the month of April.

In the month of February there was a meeting of other conspirators with Tozama, at which the latter declared that the pressing business at that time was "how the foreign barbarians were to be dealt with," and that it was absolutely necessary to expel them. The others seemed to be of the same opinion, except one who considered that the Government officials ought first to be attacked.

On the 24th of April another meeting was held at Tozama's country house. One man openly proposed to commence hostilities at Kiôto, to exterminate the Government officials there and at Ôzaka, to sweep away the "barbarians" of Kôbé, to surprise Kishiu, and to occupy Kôyasan, a mountain in that province. To this violent plan the rest would not consent. Another conspirator then proposed "to kill by bombs the officials on duty who had shown evidence of want This scheme, which points to the of principle." penetration of European ideas amongst Japanese who still cherished anti-foreign views, was also objected to, and Tozama suggested that if the officials were to be killed, it ought rather to be effected by attacking their houses. There were also some hopes expressed of gaining over the Fushimi troops to the conspirators' side, the reason alleged being that they were much opposed to French drill.

A great number of persons implicated in these Capital and other plots were arrested, and the ringleaders were severely punishments on punished. Otagi and Tozama were obliged to commit tors.

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hara kiri, Hikida Genji, the former's major-domo, and five others were sentenced to decapitation, and sentences varying from imprisonment for life to imprisonment for one year were passed upon some thirty others.

Antiforeign cry generally heard in such cases.

It was evident that this large conspiracy had some connection with the troubles in the Hita ken, where the peasants were incited by members of the kiheitai. It should be particularly observed that in most at least of such uprisings, as in this last instance, the old anti-foreign cry was again heard, and the same has happened in subsequent cases. Wherever the ignorant peasants rose, under the infliction of some injustice at the hands of officials, there were, since the restoration, never wanting men of the samurai class, who were deeply irritated at their fallen state,—from being retainers of a proud daimio, with plenty of rice to eat and now and then a man to kill, they had become needy rônins, living from hand to mouth,—who, like the shimpei and the gôshi, could not comprehend the friendly attitude towards foreigners which was the ruling policy of the Mikado's advisers, and who were ready to indulge in the wildest schemes in order that the second object of the old programme might be carried out, namely, the expulsion of the "barbarians" from Japan.

No wonder then that during the spring of 1871 uneasiness was felt by the Government, an uneasiness which they could not conceal from us; no wonder that additional precautions were taken in Yedo and in the open ports, and that a cordon of posts was established round Kôbé.

Such troubles, more or less important, will break out from time to time; there is still much feeling

against foreigners amongst the discontented samurai, and with that extraordinary fanaticism and recklessness of death which are characteristics of the Japanese military class, an attack on a foreign settlement was by no means an impossibility. I have reason to know that, at this period, what between the assault on Messrs. Dallas and Ring, the murder of the Sangi Hirozawa, and the abominable plots of which mention has been made, the Government, as well as foreigners of different nationalities, were thankful to feel that Need of foreign British and French troops still guarded the flourishing troops at Yokohama. settlement of Yokohama.

On the 4th of April the new Mint at Ozaka was Opening of mint. opened with some solemnity, the foreign Representatives having been invited to be present. It is under the able direction of Major Kinder, formerly of the Hong Kong Mint.

"On the 18th of May," according to the Japan Sir H. Parkes's Weekly Mail,* "the British Envoy, Sir Harry S. farewell audiences of the Parkes, had an audience to take leave. The Mikado, Mikado. as was natural, made use of the ordinary expressions of regret in the public interview. Sir Harry Parkes, in reply, thanked his Majesty for his gracious words. He felt sure that when he informed her Majesty the Queen of the earnest endeavours of his Majesty to cure the evils induced by a long period of seclusion, and to raise Japan to her proper station in the world, the relations of the respective nations would naturally be drawn closer. With the aid of his Majesty's sagacious advisers he would be able to convince the Japanese people that difference in climate, customs, and laws is no reason why they should feel averse to foreign nations. The speech ended with the usual expression

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of a hope that his Majesty might be spared many years to conclude the reforms he had so happily commenced. As a special mark of esteem the British Minister was also invited to a private audience in one of the pavilions in the park attached to the Palace. Advantage was taken on both sides to speak with less formality than the etiquette of public audiences requires. The Mikado thanked Sir Harry Parkes for the assistance he had always given to the Japanese Government since the dawn of the revolution. Harry Parkes, in reply, frankly avowed that he had long ago perceived that the only form of Government which could secure the peace and tranquillity of Japan was the monarchical, and that being also convinced that an enlightened and just policy would tend to develop its relations with foreign Powers, he had resolved to support the Mikado as long as he faithfully observed the treaties. His expectations had been fully justified by the event. He then recommended the Mikado to place full confidence in the foreigners in his employ, and not to be satisfied with the scanty knowledge of foreign arts and sciences which hasty travel abroad could alone afford. concluded by observing that there were still two spots on the Japanese escutcheon which would have to be removed before she could claim to rank with civilized countries; namely, the restriction of the movements of foreigners within what are called the treaty limits, and the prohibition against the exercise of the Christian religion by natives. We extract these particulars from the Government Gazette, in which the details of all audiences of the Mikado are duly published."

He leaves for England.

Sir H. Parkes left for England on the 23rd of

May, and I remained in charge of her Majesty's Legation for the ensuing twelve months. He had been uninterruptedly at his post since the summer of 1865, and was now returning home on leave of absence after nearly six years of hard work and responsibility in Japan.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

1871.

Anti-foreign policy abandoned by high Officials of Clans.—Two parties, Radical and Conservative.—Between them a number of disaffected.—Exodus of Japanese to foreign countries.— Its danger.—Students lately recalled.—Arrival of Chihanji and families in Yedo.—Necessity of turning han into ken.— Newspaper called Shimbun Zasshi started in Yedo.—Contents of first number.—Memorials from han and Samurai, and from Chiji.

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The events of the next few months were most important, and the change which came over Japan was more striking than any which perhaps the world has ever seen in so short a time.

No idea among high officials of clans to pursue an policy.

It was clear that there was no longer any serious idea among the high officials of the different clans to pursue an anti-foreign pursue, at all events in the immediate future, an antiforeign policy; they felt that any attempt at recurring to the old system of isolation would be impracticable, and they agreed with the Government in its resolve to respect the treaties, and to encourage friendly relations with foreign Powers.

Two parties, Radical and Conservative.

There were, however, two principal parties in Japan,—one the Radical, which wished to adopt all kinds of foreign arts and inventions at once, and to

advance headlong into modern civilization; the other, which was Conservative, and was opposed to making a number of changes suddenly and without calm reflecton—which, in fact, wished to proceed at a slower rate, and to preserve the ancient institution the country. Some there were, indeed, who desired simply to sit down on the mats and do nothing.

A number of disaffected men were also to be found, Between them a who hovered between the two great parties, and were disaffected always ready to foster any intrigue tending to embarrass, and even to overthrow, the Government. But the latter had already frustrated the plots of many, and they were confident of being able to bring the rest into subjugation, and disperse them after a season.

The thirst for novelty, and the increasing desire in Exodus of Japanese to this imitative people to adopt the civilization of the foreign countries. West, were shown in the number of Japanese of the military class who, giving up their own picturesque dress, and laying aside their dangerous swords, were leaving their native land for America and Europe. No less than from forty to fifty started by one American steamer during the summer. It was a strange contrast Contrast to the Chinese. to the Chinese, from whom the Japanese had formerly derived religion and literature, and much besides. Many Chinese indeed went abroad, but simply to make money as shopkeepers, servants, and the like, and in general with a determination to return home as soon as they had earned a sufficiency. These were men of the lower classes, whereas the upper classes never seemed to stir out of their native land. In Japan, the very contrary was taking place.

But there was a certain danger in this exodus of Danger in this exodus. Japanese. Many of these young men simply made a rapid tour of the United States and Europe; and

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having picked up a smattering of knowledge here and there, looked upon themselves as all-wise. They then returned to their native land with their inborn conceit, originally bred out of isolation, greatly developed. Some of them, indeed, obtaining office on the strength of their foreign tour, and the supposed insight they had gained into finance or what not, got the ear of men who, older and more experienced than they were, had never been abroad, and were imposed upon by the superficial knowledge and glib talk of the travelled It seemed a great mistake, too, to send, youngsters. as had become the custom, a number of students to foreign countries, at a very considerable expense to the Government, without any preliminary education at Many such were to be found in the United States, in England, France, and Germany, pursuing studies very much as they pleased, under no adequate control, and returning home after a short sojourn of a couple of years. And when they did once more put their feet on their native soil, what had they become? The student from America was thoroughly impressed with the advantages of republican institutions; the student from England was strongly in favour of a constitutional monarchy, and so on. What Japan really required was the establishment of primal schools at home, where the Japanese youth could obtain the first rudiments of education, could learn one foreign language at least, and then, when he had gone through the appointed course to the satisfaction of his teachers, he might, as a reward, be sent abroad to finish his education, in a country with the language of which he was already familiar.

Students lately recalled home.

The Government seem at last to have become aware of the mistake they had made, and what

between the great expense of maintaining so many students abroad, and the poor results so often obtained, they have been recalling them home. This measure, no doubt, works hardly upon some, but it is right in the main. Schools are being established in great numbers in Japan, foreign professors have been engaged, and we can only hope that the rising generation will thus have the means of obtaining a sound foundation of knowledge at home, before they depart to complete their education abroad. The whole question is treated more at length in Appendix I., but it seems worth while to insert here an able article which Article appeared in the Japan Mail of the 19th of June, 1874, Mail. on the return of the Japanese students.

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"A letter which we publish to-day, upon the return of the majority of the young Japanese sent abroad for educational purposes, deserves at least a few words of comment. We have had sufficient evidence in the letters which have appeared in the London Times and elsewhere, of the extreme hardship entailed on the most promising of these young men by the edict of the Government, and they have our most hearty sympathy. But we have always held that the extremely liberal act—for such undoubtedly it was—of sending them abroad, was one of impulsive generosity and eagerness out of all proportion to the resources of the country, and not one of grave and deliberate consideration. There was undoubtedly among most of these young men a strong desire to learn, and in many of them a great spirit of perseverance and application. But they left Japan far too unprepared to take advantage of the course of foreign education to which they aspired. Many of them did not understand the language of the country which was to be their tempoCHAP. XXIII. rary home. None of them had the slightest knowledge of the institutions or history of the European nations. Their minds were eager, indeed, for knowledge, but too unformed to turn it to account. They could not possibly digest and assimilate the mental food presented to them in Europe, and for want of the strength necessary to do so they were from the first in danger of returning rather losers than gainers by their residence abroad, which was not calculated to impress them with solid or valuable views of our system, and was certain to overturn any faith they might have in their own. The reports of many foreigners who have travelled with some of these young men from Europe do not reassure us. Such knowledge as they have acquired seems to lie on the surface of the mind, encumbering instead of fertilizing it. They appear to have read certain books, but not up to those books, so that they are like men thrown up on to a scaffolding which they ought to have mounted by a ladder with the steps of which they were familiar. In this condition they could neither get down nor mount higher, and were liable to fall at any moment. They had left home before their faculties were in any sense harmoniously developed—the great end of all education —and they were thus wholly unqualified to deal with the novel phenomena presented to them abroad. There was great fear, too, that their morale was not sufficiently "set" to enable them to face the tremendous trial of emancipation from home life, and to endure and benefit by the plunge into the cold and wide waters before them. As bad as this almost, was the danger they were in of contracting a contempt for their own civilization, and returning to Japan without interest in her future, or the power in any way to

influence that future for her good. In view of all these dangers, we have several times earnestly called the attention of the Government to the whole question. In our opinion no young Japanese should be sent abroad without the most ample preparatory education, and without having given proofs under severe examinations of his fitness to profit by a foreign residence. His mental and moral powers should first have gained solid consistency, and be capable of exertion and resistance, of rapid and solid progress. He should possess a good knowledge of the language, and a fair knowledge of the literature, the secular and religious history, of the country in which he is about to reside. He should know something of science, of art and law, and of the political history of Europe. Without these acquirements he is in no condition to make full use of his advantages. We do not pretend that our standard is an easy one to attain, but we are quite certain that it is attainable, and we should hold out the prospect of a residence abroad to those who raise themselves to that standard, and only to those. Instead of viewing it as an opportunity to roam about carelessly in the fields of curiosity and speculation, or, still less, of idleness and desultory study, the young Japanese should be taught to regard the prospect of going abroad as the highest prize open to him at his then age in this country, a prize for which he must work day and night, and the image of which must never leave his imagination. And he should even then be taught to regard it as the crowning point of an education intended to fit him, on his return to this country, for raising its condition and endowing it with a higher form of national life. And this is not to be done by a thoughtless and wholesale adoption of the

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customs, the manners, the dress, or even the institutions of the West. Splendid as is the picture which Europe presents to a mind capable of appreciating it, it is still a picture the shadows of which are in many cases dark out of all proportion to the attendant lights. There are evils which we have inherited from a remote ancestry. The tares which have grown up with our wheat we are sometimes inclined to root up, and trees disfigure our estate which we are at times disposed and even anxious to cut down, unmindful of the wiser counsel which bids us have patience and trust to time to remove these evils. To learn to discriminate between what is good and permanent and what is evil and transitory in our civilization, must be one of the aims of the Japanese who goes abroad, and who wishes to transport to and acclimatize in this country some of the more noble fruits which are the growth of our own soil. Ample and careful preparation are necessary to enable him to do this, and the studies he must pursue to this end are arduous and should be unremitted. On the younger men of this generation devolves the duty of building up the foundation on which the future edifice of the national history must be laid, and the solidity of this foundation will depend largely upon the use they may make of the advantages which they may enjoy here or have enjoyed in Europe.

"The question of what should now be done with these young men is a difficult one. Many will have to complete their studies in Yedo under the superintendence of the large foreign educational staff of the Government. We hope they will be submitted to stringent examinations by the foreign professors; that those who are reported as duly qualified to accept posts leading up to weighty responsibilities in the CHAP. Civil Service will be appointed to them; that those who are not so qualified will be retained in college; and that a strict report will be made to the Government upon the effect of this residence abroad, estimated from the examination papers of each student. The importance of this question cannot be overrated, and we hope it will be dealt with in a thoroughly efficient manner, in order that such advantages as have actually been gained by the students, at a vast expense to the country, should be utilized for its welfare, and not dissipated in channels which run into the sand and are thus lost for ever."

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The Chihanji, or ex-daimios, now kept arriving Arrival of Chihanji with their families in the eastern capital, in com-and families in Yedo. pliance with the Imperial orders. This preliminary measure was necessitated by the decree which the Government contemplated with the object of destroying what remained to them of power and station.

The manner of dealing with this class had of Difficulty of course been one of the most difficult questions. The dealing with this class. daimios had always been more or less independent, but during the Tokugawa dynasty of shôguns their power had been considerably curtailed. After the fall of the bakufu, they had resumed their independence, and though they had since been made to restore their possessions and men to the sovereign, and their very name had been abolished, they had still retained a high position in their former daimiates.

Only half the work had been done. It was clear Necessity of turning that, to make the destruction of the feudal system han into ken. complete, a step further must be taken. As it was, the officials of each han were not Government officials; such only existed in the ken, being territory which was

CHAP. XXIII. 1871. Imperial. Thus, for instance, there were the Kanagawa ken, the Nagasaki ken, &c. Several of the smaller han—as for instance Nambu—had, under various pretexts, been turned into ken before the end of 1870. But in order to deal a decisive blow at the clannish spirit of the country, and to bring all Japan under the control of the central Government, it was necessary to turn the whole of the han into ken, so that every official throughout the length and breadth of the land should be an official, not of this or that han, but of the Empire.

Newspaper called Shimbun Zasshi started in Yedo.

This measure had doubtless been long contemplated, and to prepare the opinion of the nation, an engine was employed which was certainly novel in Japan. A newspaper was started in Yedo under the title of *Shimbun Zasshi*, or the Budget of News.

The prospectus was as follows:—

Prospectus.

"In the present age of novelty in things material and moral, no pleasure can be greater than the acquisition of a knowledge of the hitherto unknown, or unseen, and the widening thereby of the bounds of one's understanding. Country people, whose opportunities, for seeing and hearing are limited, are often prejudiced in their opinions, ignorant in their notions, and given to unreasoning suspicions and fears. finish by the mistake of fancying themselves to be the only persons in the right, and everybody else to be in the This age in which we live is one whose benefits demand our gratitude, but if those who live at a distance do not know how the general government is carried on, they will be likely to be led into doubt and Such a state of things nullifies altogether the advantage we have of being born in such a wonderful age.

"We have now received the permission of the authorities to open a private newspaper office. object is to publish all the changes which occur, not only in the general Government, but also in the various fu, han, and ken, as well as local matters and extraordinary news from foreign countries, in the desire of sharing the pleasure of fresh and increased knowledge with all the inhabitants of Japan, and of getting rid of the vice of ignorant prejudice. hope that those who deign to read our budget will divine two facts for every one they read, will judge distant events by those which occur near them; that they will find much to wonder and rejoice over in the things between heaven and earth which are foreign to their own experience, that they will see that those who only know one corner cannot help being rustics, and that the summer-insects are laughed at for disbelieving in the existence of ice. Then we may say that they are worthy of the privilege of being born under the restoration of the ancient régime."*

Although this prospectus stated that the permission of the authorities had been obtained to open a private newspaper office, there is no doubt that the paper was started by one or two influential members of the Government. One object then was to supply the public with early information respecting the changes in progress, to prepare their minds for the same, and thus to familiarize them with the great revolution which the reformers at the head of affairs were attempting to introduce.

The first number appeared about the end of June. Contents of first The local intelligence, like the foreign, was varied. number.

^{*} Translated by Mr. Satow.

CHAP. XXIII. 1871. Mention was made of four native women having instructed the Empress in the art of rearing silk-worms; of the decline in the value of new silk, owing to the frauds practised by the producers and the native merchants of Yokohama; of the telegraphic circle, including the Japanese inland line, to be completed round the earth in a year; there was a curious paragraph condemning the custom of blackening the teeth as barbarous, and hinting at the advisability of its being abolished by decree. The foreign news contained notices of passing events in Europe, of the American expedition to Corea, of the superiority of the German cavalry, &c.

Petitions of han desiring to become ken and samurai to return to the agricultural class.

In the political department many valuable documents were published. Those particularly to be noticed were petitions of han desiring to become ken, and of samurai asking for leave to lay aside their swords and return to the agricultural class. It was natural for the Government to be desirous of giving the greatest publicity to such documents, as being in entire unison with their own policy, a policy which, no doubt, by means unknown to foreigners, they had been sparing no pains to infuse into the different han. its first number, after some of these petitions from samurai to become peasants, the paper remarked: "It is an example of wise foresight which all the han, both great and small, would do well to follow." paragraph seems sufficient to reveal the official inspiration of the Shimbun Zasshi.

Such memorials and petitions had been coming in for many months. The seed had been sown, and there can be little doubt that it was owing to the number and importance of the documents which reached them, however originated, that the Government considered the propitious moment to have arrived for taking a decided step.

The rest of this chapter contains translations and extracts of several documents, in which will be found arguments for further changes required for the final abolition of the feudal system, and for the establishment of a strong centralization.

The Chiji of Kumamoto (Higo) sent in a memorial, Memorial of Chiji of in which he said that though the present agitation in the popular mind, and the acts of violence committed close to the foot of the throne, were to some extent due to the weakness of the Imperial authority and the failure of the Imperial ideas, their real cause was that proper men had not yet been found to fill the offices of the Court and of the local governments.

He deprecated the system of separate offices for the Shintô religion and the Council of State, and said that the officials were exceedingly numerous, that the Government was split up into sections, and no fit man was found for the offices of the Court. As for the Chiji of the han, at present antique lineage was the only qualification for the office, and their capacities were unequal to their duties. Hence there were an excessive number of officials, who also were unfit for their responsibilities.

After giving in somewhat general terms his scheme for an altered constitution, he concludes as follows:

"Your servant, by reason of his degenerate lineage, has unwarrantably defiled the office of Chiji. desires to be at once released from his duties, to return the class of samurai, and that some man undoubted sagacity and talent may be chosen in his stead."

Memorial of the Chiji of the Tokushima Han (Awa).

Memorial of "Your servant Snigerion respective Strictly asserted, the lished, the Imperial prestige strictly asserted, the bad customs of the last several hundred years being cleansed away, the system of the Empire being reformed and settled, and a firm and endurable basis being established, all these things must be carried out in reality, and not in name alone.

"From the administration of justice and the wielding of the military power to the question of finance and general administration, nothing has as yet been really concentrated. It is a subject for regret. Although the feudal system is in existence under the name of han, this name ought to be no longer preserved for a single day. Your servant is secretly of opinion that the name of han should be resolutely abolished, and the title of Chihanji changed to that of Chishiuji. He should be an officer acting as a member of the Government. According to the size of the territories under the jurisdiction of the clans, they might be divided into two or three, four or five, ken; and the present Daisanji and Gondaisanji appointed Chikenji. The Chishiuji should receive his Majesty's will direct, and give orders to the Chikenji. The Chikenji should be made to live among the people, and to carry out all measures. All the troops of the clans should be under the jurisdiction of the war department, and on an uniform system. This is the most earnest petition of your servant, and he thus puts forth his stupid sentiments. Prostrate, he prays that the wise Court will kindly adopt his suggestions.

"Your servant Shigénori makes this respectful

representation with genuine fear and trembling, and bowings of the head.

"First month (February 19—March 20, 1871)."

Subsequently the Chiji and the whole clan petitioned to return to the agricultural condition.

Again, we read in the Shimbun Zasshi;—

"It is said that all the samurai of the Zézé clan petitioned their Chiji in the fourth month to resume the status of peasants. The following is the gist of the petition:—We are now endeavouring to establish a basis for our national polity, that we may be placed on a level with other countries. In spite of the favours we have hitherto enjoyed from generation to generation, it is now no longer reconcilable with the duty of a samurai to stick to old habits, and to sit quietly down to do nothing but eat the food of the We have therefore agreed together to resign our hereditary pay, to enter the agricultural class, to exert our energies in the cultivation of the ground, or in the reclamation of new lands. We shall then be discharging our duties, and hope to be of some insignificant use to the state.

"The Chiji applied for the Imperial decision, and the Court has given its permission."

A pamphlet with the title "New Essay on the "New Essay Feudal System," which was published in the supple- system." ment to No. 6 of the Shimbun Zasshi, is too long for insertion here, but contains much of interest. giving the views of the Conservative party, their usual fear of change, and drawing examples from Chinese history to prove the fallacies of their arguments, the author attacks feudalism, and states that there is no greater misfortune for the Empire than the fact that it

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is not one compact whole, militarily and financially, and that if Japan desires to be independent, and to compete on an equality with the other nations of the earth, and defend herself against them, the centralization system must be introduced. He even cites the instances of the German Bund and the United States to show the advantages, in respect of foreign relations and wars, of a number of small states uniting their forces and their treasures. At the same time he is aware that the desired change must take several years to effect. "There must be no attempt to make it a morning's work." Notwithstanding the restoration of the fiefs to the throne and the conversion of the princes into Chiji of han, the condition of things has remained as before. The property of the han is applied to their profit only, and the Imperial Court cannot make use of even a hundredth part of it. In every han the offices are hereditary. Everything, from the homage of the samurai and common people, the management of the wealth and resources of the clans, and the command of the military forces, down to the direction of the administration and the enactment of laws, is considered a private right appertaining to each individual clan. The authority of the Imperial Court is confined to the fu and ken, and in the han there is nothing but the mere semblance of submission. han never refuse to obey the orders given by the Imperial Court, but they never carry them out.

The writer inveighs against the hereditary nature of the offices in the clans, against the *samurai*, who enjoy hereditary pay, being all soldiers in name but not in reality. "Out of the 10,000 *samurai*," says he, in a sentence I have already quoted, "there are not more than twenty or thirty per cent. of effectives; the

remaining seventy or eighty per cent. merely turn up XXIII. their eyes gratefully and eat."

What is wanted, he remarks, is an Imperial army, uniformity in land-tax, land tenure, currency, education, penal laws; but the clans have their own systems in all these matters, and do not care to change.

What has been done since the four great han led the way in restoring their registers? "During the last year the clans of Yamaga (Midzuno) and Morioka (Nambu) resolutely resigned their Chiji, and prayed that they might themselves be abolished. Wakayama (Kishiu) has made great changes in his provinces; the Chiji has vacated his castle and retired to his private residence; he has demolished the temple of his ancestors, and removed the monuments of his founder to the family shrine; has amalgamated the samurai, agricultural, artisan, and trading classes, and has equalized their burdens; has selected men of talent from amongst the mercantile and medical professions, and has raised them to a share in the administration."

Other examples of reform are given, and it is mentioned that a short time previously the samurai of the Kôchi han (Tosa) were released from their civil and military functions, and were amalgamated with the common population. Pay-bonds were made out, and given to the samurai for their livelihood. The troops were selected from the lower classes as well as from the samurai, whose pay was cut down to feed the troops. "The whole province underwent a transformation which was expected to extend over the whole Empire."

The writer indulges in severe strictures against the one-sided prejudices which obscure the minds of so many people in Japan, who talk of "closing the

CHAP. XXIII. 1871. country," or of "expelling the barbarians," being ignorant of the change in the spirit of the times, and he compares them to the whelk in the fable who fancied to keep himself safe from harm at the hands of men by shutting the lid of his shell, and thus being unaware that he was lying for sale in a fishmonger's shop. The essay winds up with an earnest appeal to the feelings of the Japanese to support the Government and the principle of centralization in all things, so that his Majesty's rule may be continued to all future ages, and be made to shine beyond the seas.

CHAPTER XXIV.

August, 1871.

Readjustment of the Government.—Chiji of Chikuzen dismissed, owing to forgery of Paper-money in his Clan.—Startling innovation of appointment of Arisugawa no Miya in his place.—Punishments of the Culprits.—Further reforms in the administration.

On the 11th of August, an imperial decree, which took the public by surprise, was issued, dismissing Readjustfrom their posts all the high officers of State except Government. Sanjô. This measure, however, so sweeping in appearance, was soon followed by decrees reappointing a number of the dismissed men to their former offices, or giving to them new posts. But advantage was taken of this readjustment to get rid of certain members of the Government.

The Cabinet, as reformed, consisted of Sanjô, who remained Prime Minister, and also became Minister of Religion; of Iwakura, who was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in the room of Sawa; and of four Sangi, or Councillors of State, Saigô, Kido, Itagaki, and Ôkuma, representing the clans of Satsuma, Chôshiu, Tosa, and Hizen. Ôkubo was made Minister of Finance, and Gotô Shôjirô went to the Board of Works.

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In this Cabinet the two former Court nobles, Sanjô and Iwakura, represented the Conservative element, and the Sangi were tried reformers—some, perhaps, of too radical a tendency. The samurai of the revolution had increased in power, and were taking the places of the former Court and territorial nobles. The aristocratic element thus received another blow.

Chiji of Chikuzen dismissed owing to forgery of papermoney in his clan.

Startling innovation of appointment of Arisugawa no Miya in his place.

On the 17th of August, Kuroda, the Chiji of Chikuzen, was dismissed from his office owing to some of his clan having been implicated in the forgery of paper-money to a considerable extent in that province. The Government availed themselves of this dismissal to introduce a startling innovation, the appointment of Arisugawa no Miya, who, up to the 11th of August, had been Minister of War, to be the Chiji. Hitherto the han had always been governed by one of themselves. Kawada, an officer of the Censorate, was appointed Daisanji (the next official in rank to the Chiji), and they started at once for Fukuoka.

Punishment of culprits.

Further reforms.

On the same day that Kuroda was dismissed, sentences varying in severity were pronounced on forty-seven officials of the clan for participation in the forgery; five being condemned to capital punishment, and four others to ten years' penal servitude.

On the 24th of August more reforms were announced. The Board of Punishments and the Censorate were amalgamated into one department, under the name of Shihô shô, or Judicial Board. It was felt that civil and criminal causes ought to be tried by the same judges, and the jurisdiction over the former, which had belonged to the Home Department, was transferred to the Judicial Board. The collection of the taxes was placed in the hands of the Okura shô, or Treasury, and the Home Department ceased to exist.

Other changes in the organization of the Government were then made. The $Daigaku\ ri\hat{o}$, or University, was transformed into the $Mombu\ sh\hat{o}$, or Education Department, and the office for the promulgation of the Shintô religion was lowered from the position of a kan, which placed it on a level with the Council of State, to that of a $sh\hat{o}$, or ordinary department. All the various public works were united under one department, the $Kobu\ sh\hat{o}$, which thus succeeded to some of the duties of the extinct Home Department.

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CHAPTER XXV.

1871.

Niigata.—Murderous attack on Mr. E. H. King.

CHAP. XXV. Niigata. The port on the north-west coast of the main island which had been opened to foreign trade was Niigata. The following description appeared in the *Japan Herald* of the 25th of July, 1868:—

Niigata lies, as students of Japanese geography know, in the Province of Echigo, at the mouth of a great river, or rather at the confluence of several rivers which take their rise in the provinces of Déwa, Mutsu, Kôdzuké, and Shinano. These rivers are navigable for boats for a considerable distance into the interior, affording thus excellent facilities for the transport of goods both inwards and outwards. Unfortunately, however, as is the case with every Japanese river, the current is so strong as to create a very obstructive and dangerous bar at the mouth, so that no European vessel can enter, and even Japanese junks have to unload their cargoes outside.

The town, which lies about half a mile inside the mouth, is of considerable size and neatly laid out in squares, with narrow canals, just big enough for small boats to pass along, intersecting it crossways. In spite of the rather dirty water which these canals

contain, they add considerably to the appearance of the place, fringed as they are with willow trees throughout. CHAP, XXV. 1871.

The climate of Niigata is much more severe in winter than that of Yokohama, and the snow usually falls to the depth of two or three feet. The houses are built with their gables towards the streets, and the roofs are prolonged beyond the walls in such a way as to prevent the snow from blocking up the windows. In several thoroughfares the path runs under the eaves of the lower story, so that locomotion is easy and comfortable in all weathers. The temperature in summer also appears to be much cooler than that of any of the other ports, with the exception of Hakodaté, and life is made more endurable by the liberal supplies of frozen snow which are procured from the mountains of Aidzu.

The country round Niigata for a considerable distance, probably forty miles at least, is perfectly flat, and appears very fertile. No doubt it is well adapted for excursions on horseback, and in that respect probably will be found to surpass any part of Japan as yet opened to the residence of foreigners.

The manufactures of the town are apparently not extensive. A great quantity of lacquer ware of a coarse kind is made there, and articles of a peculiar pattern, called mokusa nuri, or seaweed lacquer, are brought for sale from Aidzu, where they are produced. A bad species of red porcelain is also procurable. In the country districts a fabric of hemp, called Echigo chijimi, a sort of muslin, is manufactured, but the patterns are such as would probably prevent its ever forming an article of export. Silk and silkworms' eggs are no doubt obtainable in considerable quantities

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from Déwa and Shinano, but the trade in those staples has yet to be created. The district of Aidzu contains coal, which if worked will supply steam vessels trading thither with fuel for their return voyages. Another product which may probably some day or other form an article of export is petroleum oil, which issues out of the ground in considerable quantities, and is to a certain extent used by the natives in their lamps.

The climate of Echigo being so temperate is probably well adapted for the growth of European vegetables and fruits. Indeed, there is already a species of apple to be found there which far surpasses both in taste and size the specimens of that fruit which the neighbourhood of Yedo produces.

Of the inhabitants, of course, little is as yet known. They appear, however, very well disposed towards foreigners, and have the great virtue, which is so rare in this country, of being extremely hard working and industrious. The women of the province are famed for their beauty.

Owing to the badness of the anchorage at Niigata, arrangements have been made by which vessels can anchor at Ebisujima in the Island of Sado, where they can unload and store their cargoes whenever the occurrence of bad weather on the bar at the former place renders landing there an impossibility. Ebisujima itself is, however, not the sailor's beau-ideal of an anchorage, being exposed to the north-west gales, but unfortunately there is no other place in the neighbourhood which is equally advantageous, and we shall probably have to content ourselves with it until measures can be taken for rendering the mouth of the river at Niigata navigable for vessels of moderate

burthen. It is truly a pity that a town with such CHAP. capital internal communication should lack that upon which, after all, the development of its trade, to any great extent, really depends.

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I find also in a report, dated January 25, 1870, from Mr. Troup, Acting British Consul at Niigata, the following information:—

"The town of Niigata was first settled about 215 years ago, by three merchants of Echizen, with the permission and under the direction of Makino, the daimio of Nagaoka, in whose territory it was situated. It was laid out, the streets were made, and its admirable system of canals was dug within a few years of its first settlement. The idea of the founders of making a flourishing port here was not disappointed. Under the jurisdiction of Nagaoka it continued to flourish, until in the year 1843 it was taken over by the shôgun's Government."

As far as foreign trade is concerned, Niigata is a complete failure. In 1870 there were only about twelve foreign residents, and now I believe the number is still less.

On the evening of the 17th of June I received Murderous attack on from an official of the foreign department the dis-Mr. E. H. King at Niigata. subject in the employ of the local Government at Niigata as a teacher, had been severely wounded by a Japanese, who had entered his bedroom about three o'clock on the morning of the 12th. Mr. King was sleeping in his bed upon the mats, and being roused by a noise, saw, standing in the middle of the room, a Japanese, who thereupon rushed at him, delivered several cuts with great rapidity, some of them falling

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on his victim's hands and arms as he raised them in defence, and then made good his escape.

Request for European doctor.

patched accordingly.

The Chikenji had sent off intelligence of the deed at once to Yedo, with an urgent request that a foreign doctor might be despatched forthwith to treat the unfortunate man, whose life was in danger. The high officials, who visited me on the morning of the 18th to express the deep regret of the Emperor and of his Government at this untoward occurrence, begged me to assist them in complying with the Chikenji's request, by permitting the Legation doctor to start at Dr. Wheeler once for Niigata; and as Dr. Wheeler was of opinion, from the report, that one wound in the head was very serious, I considered that I could not do otherwise than comply with the request, where the life of a British subject was at stake. Dr. Wheeler started early on the following morning, relays of horses having been ordered along the road; he rode untiringly through the plain, and over the Mikuni pass to Muikamachi. There he took boat, and dropped down the river to Niigata, where he arrived in the incredibly short time of eighty-four hours. Under his judicious treatment, the wounds inflicted on Mr. King assumed a less unhealthy appearance, and the necessity for amputating an arm was fortunately averted.

The Government at once took steps to trace the criminal, and despatched several officials to quicken the action of the local authorities. The following

proclamation was also issued:—

Translation.

Government pro-clamation.

"The Niigata ken reports that on the 12th instant, at that place, some person inflicted wounds upon the Englishman King in the employ of his Majesty, and

then ran away. It is most abominable that in spite of all the proclamations which have so often been published, such acts should again be committed.

"His Majesty therefore orders that every official, in every part of the country, shall institute a vigorous search, with the object of capturing the criminal without delay.

"Retainers and followers of all officials, Princes of the Blood, nobles, and all persons down to the lowest in the fu, han, and ken shall, one by one, be subject to examination, and reports shall be made at once of any suspicious circumstances that may be discovered. Should any facts be concealed, and be subsequently brought to light, the responsibility will fall on the lord.

"(Signed) Dajôkan.

"June, 1871."

When sufficiently able to travel, Mr. King was Mr. King brought to Yedo, and maintained there till his restora-compensation to health by the Government, who also presented Never entirely him with a sum of money, by way of compensation for the injuries received whilst in their service, and from which he has never completely recovered.

Notwithstanding all the efforts made by the Criminal authorities, the criminal was not discovered. There covered. is no reason to suppose that he intended to kill a foreigner on political grounds, and the circumstances of the case point rather to the work of a night robber, who, on seeing Mr. King awake, was induced to attempt assassination for fear of discovery and capture.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1871.

Conversion of han into ken.—Confidence of Government in success of measure.—Ex-Daimios accept altered position, and enjoy their liberty.—Opposition in Geishiu, &c., to departure of former Princes.—Ex-Chiji of Awa assumes debt of former clan.—Leaves for Europe with Wife.—Question of future of Samurai.—Plans suggested.—Government scheme in 1873.—Origin of the Samurai, and of their pensions.—Reasons for Government scheme to extinguish the pensions.—Proclamation permitting Samurai to lay down their Swords.—Difficulty respecting local currencies.— Officials of one ken were gradually appointed to another.— Number of koku in new ken.—Emperor gradually emerges from retirement.—Audience of General Capron.—Emperor drives in an open Carriage to Hamagoten.—Signs of obeisance to his Majesty no longer required.—Nobles permitted to intermarry with ordinary people, and take female members of family abroad.—Abolition of Eta and Hinin.

IT was on the 29th of August that the Mikado's fiat went forth, and that the han were abolished.

His Majesty addressed the following message to the Chihanji:—*

Conversion of han into ken.

"We are of opinion that in a time of radical reform like the present, if We desire by its means to

^{*} Translated by Mr. Satow.

give protection and tranquillity to the people at home, and abroad to maintain equality with foreign nations, words must be made to mean in reality what they claim to signify, and the government of the country must centre in a single whole.

"Some time ago We gave Our sanction to the scheme by which all the clans restored to Us their registers; We appointed Chiji for the first time, each to perform the duties of his office.

"But owing to the lengthened endurance of the old system during several hundred years, there have been cases where the word only was pronounced and the reality not performed. How is it possible for Us, under such circumstances, to give protection and tranquillity to the people, and to maintain equality with foreign nations?

"Profoundly regretting this condition of affairs, We do now completely abolish the han and convert them into ken, with the object of diligently retrenching unnecessary expenditure and of arriving at convenience in working, of getting rid of the vice of the unreality of names, and of abolishing the disease of government proceeding from multiform centres.

"Do ye, Our assembled servants, take well to heart this Our will.

"August 29, 1871."

Although the radical change thus announced ap-Confidence of Governpeared bold and hazardous to foreigners, who as yet ment in success of are but imperfectly acquainted with the machinery of measure. the Government, and of all the means by which they can work upon the nation, the members of the Cabinet with whom I spoke on the subject expressed the greatest confidence in its success. The hope of such

CHAP. XXVI. 1871. success rested, no doubt, in the obedience which a quiet and subservient peasantry had been accustomed for centuries to pay to the authorities, and in the unhesitating loyalty with which the bulk of the military class were wont to accept decrees emanating from the sacred person of the Mikado. The loyalty to the throne was so universal an article of faith, that, as it was expressed to me, the moment an Imperial decree was published, the nation accepted it as a matter of course.

Ex-daimios accept altered position.

Enjoy greater liberty.

Instance at Yedo races.

It was soon seen that the ex-daimios in general accustomed themselves to their altered position, and many seemed delighted with it. This too has been a subject of general surprise to foreigners, and very naturally so. But I think the reason is to be found in the fact that they were compensated for their loss of rank and state by the liberty which they now enjoyed, and by the charm of novelty, which suited their impressionable natures. Still it certainly was very striking. I may mention an instance which came within my personal knowledge. In the month of November I was present at the Japanese races, which, in imitation of our races at Yokohama, are held from time to time on the course in Yedo, and in what I must, for want of a better expression, call the box, where I was placed with Mr. Satow, Mr. Dohmen, and Mr. Wirgman, there were three young men, daimios of three great clans. They had come without any state, attended by hardly any retainers, and they seemed thoroughly to enjoy their freedom from restraint, conversing with us familiarly. At the same time, when afterwards Mr. Satow and I adjourned with them to the house of one of the highest men in the Government, it was easy to perceive that the

retainers, and amongst them our host himself, preserved a respectful demeanour towards the young man who had been once the head of the powerful clan to which they had all belonged.

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A couple of years previously such intimate relations would have been simply impossible.

The Chihanji, who had arrived in Yedo, were to reside in released from their functions, and were thenceforward were thenceforward wight go to reside with their wives and families in the eastern capital. But permission could be and was given to many to go abroad and see the world. It was also stated that any who should show capacity for business would be employed in the public service; but the Government declared that thenceforward it must be the rule that men of talent, of whatever rank, should as far as possible be selected to fill important posts. It was intended that there should be a gradual concentration of the Government, and that the power and authority of each department should extend throughout the Empire. The change was to proceed so far, that the new Chikenji, or Chiji of the ken, need not have originally belonged to the particular territory (former han) over which they were called to govern, and similarly with other officials. This had already been effected in the case of Chikuzen (see chap. xxiv.)

It must also be recollected that these ex-daimios Were really better off were in reality better off than formerly. They had no than formerly. longer a crowd of useless retainers to maintain, and thus the one-tenth of the old assessments of their territories which they now possess as income forms a better provision for themselves and their families than their previous nominal revenue.

By the end of November almost all the ex-

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daimios and their families had arrived in Yedo, and had established themselves there in obedience to the Imperial mandate. Although this had been effected in almost every instance without any difficulty, here and there some opposition had been made to the departure of the former princes.

Opposition in Geishiu, &c., to departure of former princes.

In Geishiu some ill-disposed samurai had stirred up the lower classes with the view of preventing the father of the ex-Chiji from removing to Yedo, the pretext being that the central Government had resolved to take the power out of the hands of the existing local authorities, in order to entrust it to other officials of their own choice, for purposes of Some of the people had oppression and extortion. believed in this false assertion, had risen, and had burnt the houses of several officials. Troops, however, were despatched to the spot, and order was quickly restored. A Tosa man was then sent to the province as Daisanji, with instructions from the Government to explain the nature of the recent change, and no renewal of the disturbance was expected.

Again, at Matsuyama in Shikoku, and at several other places, there had been some insignificant disturbances, which had been easily quelled. There had also been disaffection and discontent in Kaga, one of the greatest of the old clans, but that was at an end, the whole of the Chiji's family had removed to Yedo, and a Daisanji from Satsuma was actually ruling the administration in place of the former Chiji.

Ex-Chiji of Awa assumes debt of former clan.

A notable instance of patriotism was recorded in the Government *Gazette*. The ex-Chiji of Awa petitioned for leave to undertake, as a private charge on his single family, the public debt of his late clan, and to take measures for its immediate liquidation. This CHAP. petition was highly approved of, and its prayer granted, by his Majesty. Young Awa left soon after for Leaves for Europe with wife. Europe, with his wife, attired no longer according to the custom of her country.

The han being turned into ken, the former daimios being no longer even governors of their old territories, and the formation of an Imperial army being proceeded with, there remained the difficult question of Question of the future of disbanded soldiers and other samurai, samurai. no longer retainers of mighty nobles. The discontent and conspiracies of such men have already been mentioned, and it became anxiously debated by the Government how they could be finally absorbed into the general population, and what compensation they should obtain for the incomes they had lost, so as to be furnished with a means of livelihood.

The two-sworded class possessed, in round num-Plans suggested. bers, some eight million koku of rice, the koku being worth, perhaps, at that time about twenty-two shillings. Many had indeed already joined the agricultural class; but the bulk had to be provided for, and various plans were suggested for dealing with them. One plan was to give them a sum of money once for all; another, to grant deeds to each family, entitling it to two-thirds of its former income in rice, such deeds to be saleable, and to form a sort of public debt or Government scrip. The Shimbun Zasshi pub-Plan of Daisanji of lished one document containing the views of a high Maruoka clan. official of the Maruoka clan in Echizen, which may be quoted as a specimen, advocating the reunion of the military and agricultural classes, whereby a return to the old monarchical (gun-ken) system would be greatly facilitated. He did not advocate the turning

CHAP. XXVI. 1871. of the whole of the military into peasants, but he suggested that they should be divided among the villages, and should receive their incomes, at a diminished rate, from these villages. The peasants would thus be subject to the same tax as before, but would pay a part only to the Government, and the rest to the exsamurai settled amongst them.

[Translation.]*

Views of Doi, Daisanji of the Maruoka Clan.

"In ancient times the powerful families divided the country between them, and by dint of long hereditary occupation the feudal system was established; the fighting and agricultural classes were separated. At the present moment there is a strong impulse in political affairs tending towards the substitution of monarchical government (gun-ken) for the feudal system, and the division of the military and agricultural populations into two classes is a great hindrance to the success of this tendency.

"To inquire into the reason of this:—if we are to have un-official samurai, who are neither civil functionaries nor soldiers in the army, why should they who have no functions be allowed to eat the bread of idleness? Views are differently taken on this question. Some propose that they should be made to return to the farming condition. They say, if all the samurai in the Empire are to become peasants, there will be no land for them to cultivate. Land must be reclaimed for them, mulberries and tea-trees planted; commercial enterprises must be largely established. I say, in order to make the samurai return to the

^{*} By Mr. Satow.

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farming condition, the military and agricultural classes must be re-united just as they were in ancient times. Let those who have capacities suited to the reclamation of waste land and the pursuit of commerce follow those careers; but how can the stupid acquire the necessary knowledge? And, besides, if these several myriads of samurai are all to become peasants or tradespeople, they will certainly be taking the bread out of the mouths of those who at present follow those occupations. But the only way to prevent this evil is to re-unite the military and agricultural classes. If you desire to unite them in one class, let all the samurai of all the clans, whether functionaries or not, be divided among the registers of the different villages. Let them receive their pay in rice from the villages direct; and then, without lessening the land-tax paid to the Government, it will of itself seem to be less burdensome. Suppose a fief assessed at 1000 koku and yielding a revenue of 500 koku, the tax is diminished by one tenth of the assessment. Four hundred koku paid to the Government, with the remaining 100 koku five samurai possessing a revenue of 20 koku can be settled in the village, and receive the 20 koku apiece direct from the village. And then these revenues should be allowed to be bought and sold privately. Thus the equal division of the produce between the Government and the people would of itself assume the proportion of four to Government and six to people. For example, a tan of rice land, estimated to produce $1\frac{1}{2}$ koku; 6 to would be paid to the Government, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to the samurai. Therefore, if the samurai wished to buy, it would be sufficient to pay a tax of 6 to; and when the samurai wished to part with his allowance, the

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peasant would get it in the same way. All comprised in the register would be under the jurisdiction of the mayor of the village, and he would be under the han office. Then village schools should be established everywhere, and those who have a superfluity of the necessaries of existence should study the arts of peace and war in common with the samurai class. Thus human intelligence would be trained, the evil of eating the bread of idleness made to disappear, and the four classes of the people would at last be equalized.

"Some one says; perhaps the proposal of making the samurai return to the peasant condition may be worth adopting; but with respect to lightening the land-tax, that time has not yet arrived. I say, in ancient times, before the fighting and labouring classes. were separated, the tribute-rice was very small; and it was only made as heavy as it is upon that separation taking place. It was not merely done to increase the tax, but in order to supply the means of supporting the soldier. If the samurai are made to return to the farming condition, and the tax is not made as light as before, taxation will be in reality doubled. Still more in this age of civilization and reformation, if officials are to be impartially selected for their talent amongst the four classes of the people, and the land-tax is not lightened, how can the peasant and the tradesman exert themselves in the acquirement of the arts of peace and war, and fulfil the demands made upon them?"

Government scheme in The scheme finally propounded by the Government in 1873 is as follows:—

It is proposed to give to those *samurai* who voluntarily surrender their hereditary incomes a sum

equivalent to six years' income (half in cash and half in bonds, bearing eight per cent. interest), and to those having life incomes, a sum equivalent to four years' income (half in cash and half in bonds, bearing eight per cent. interest).

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It is therefore opportune to inquire what these samurai originally were, and how they obtained their pensions. The substance of what follows will be found in an article in the Japan Mail, of February 24, 1874, and in a letter from "A Japanese Student," transcribed from the columns of the $Japan\ Herald$.

The samurai were originally peasants or farmers the samurai who possessed lands which they cultivated themselves. and of their pensions. But in the reign of the Emperor Kônin (770-781) certain of them were formed into the separate class of samurai, and the land was thenceforward cultivated by the peasantry. In return for their devoting themselves exclusively to military pursuits, these samurai received pensions, or rather allowances of rice, which were made hereditary in order to secure the performance of similar services by their descendants in the No doubt in many instances such allowances were granted to mere personal favourites, who had not rendered any military services. In some cases the samurai had portions of land assigned to them from which they drew their rents.

The hereditary allowances to the samurai, therefore, were granted in olden times, and their descendants at the present day have a right thereto, or to compensation if the same are abolished. The principle is similar to the rent which a landlord draws from land, and if the land be taken from him, he is entitled to a due amount of compensation. There were also, it should be observed, life-pensioners, who received CHAP. XXVI. 1871. their allowances in consequence of worthy acts performed by themselves, and therefore perfectly independently of anything done by their forefathers, and these pensioners are equally entitled to compensation.

Reasons for Government scheme to extinguish the pensions.

The reasons which have induced the Government to issue their scheme for extinguishing the pensions of samurai are given as follows:—

It is said that the intention is to relieve the administration of a part of its heavy burthen, and at the same time to effect a material improvement in the condition of such samurai. Many of them, it is stated, were prevented from surrendering their pensions from want of a capital wherewith they might engage in business or agricultural pursuits. If the Government would but purchase their annuities, not only would the finances of the state be thereby directly relieved, but indirectly the national wealth would be increased by making producers of a large class of non-producers.

The Government, perceiving the force of this argument, and urged by other considerations, determined to give to the proposed scheme a trial, with the proviso that it should be voluntary, not compulsory. reasons for fixing upon a sum equivalent to six years' income for the extinguishment of hereditary pensions were, it is understood: First, that this sum was suggested by the originators of the scheme, themselves pensioners, who considered that it was all the Government could afford, and that it would give a reasonable capital for business purposes. Secondly, that it was all the Government could afford to give. They would be obliged to borrow money for the purpose, and it was neither safe nor prudent for a new Government to place heavy financial difficulties in their future path, by issuing too many obligations.

The reason alleged for offering so great a sum, comparatively, as the equivalent of six years' income to those having life pensions, is that in fact the lifepensioner individually is more worthy of a pension than the hereditary pensioner.

The scheme, however, has not found favour, is not considered a fair one by the samurai, has consequently caused much discontent, and has not yet been carried out.

The return of samurai to the agricultural class involved the laying down of their dangerous swords, a measure which had been often urged upon the Government by foreign Representatives, and had been especially advocated after the attack upon Messrs. Dallas and Ring. On that occasion the answer returned was a firm refusal, as it was not considered that the moment had arrived for action in such a delicate matter, nor did the Government choose to give a handle to every discontented man to cry out that they were yielding to foreign dictation.

But after the decree of the 29th of August a pro- Proclamaclamation was published, whereby the samurai were samurai to permitted to discontinue wearing their swords, and their swords. from that time multitudes laid them aside. this proclamation every foreigner could sympathize, and though one could not help regretting that at the same time many a Japanese either discarded the picturesque dress of his country, and appeared in similar costume to ourselves—a costume not suited to his build or stature—or walked the streets in a mixture of Japanese and European dress, still one felt that each of these men was no longer an object of suspicion as formerly, that he was, as it were, gained to our side, and would no longer scowl at us

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as we passed, and mutter between his teeth that we were barbarians, or descendants of dogs, whom he longed to extirpate.

Difficulty respecting local currencies.

Another great difficulty connected with the work of centralization was that of the various local currencies. Many a han possessed a different issue, which only passed current in that particular han.

When, in the months of December, 1870, and January, 1871, I made an excursion to Uwajima in Shikoku, and to Bungo, Higo, and Satsuma in Kiushiu, I was painfully struck with the lamentable state of the currency. In Uwajima the paper-money I saw was tolerably clean and intelligible, but in Bungo, most of which belonged to the Higo clan, there was hardly anything to be seen but what I can only designate as a number of well-thumbed filthy pieces of paper, of the worth of which my Japanese two-sworded attendants were utterly ignorant. When we passed into the Higo province the Bungo currency was useless, and we found other paper notes in an equally shocking state; and the same happened when we entered Satsuma, except that copper cash was plentiful in that province. The Government declared their intention to buy up all these various kinds of paper currency at their market rate, an undertaking which might well require years to effect, and which cannot but be attended with much loss and dissatisfaction to the already impoverished peasantry of many It came to my knowledge subsequently, provinces. that the local authorities in Satsuma proposed to keep to their local issue as long as possible, and sought to prevent the circulation in their territory of any other currency.

It was not to be expected that Chikenji would at

once be appointed throughout the Empire. In such a clan, for instance, as Satsuma, where Shimadzu Saburô In most ken was all-powerful, the appointment of even a Satsuma officials man to the highest post would have been hazardous, if not impossible, and the Government were content to leave the administration of the majority of the ken in the hands of the old officials for the present, the post of Chikenji remaining vacant.

But little by little they availed themselves of But officials opportunities, sometimes caused by disturbances, send officials of one ken to be Chiji or Daisanji in appointed to another. another, and some smaller ken were gradually absorbed into larger ones.

of one ken

The number of koku of rice which the land under Number of koku in new cultivation in each of the new ken was estimated to produce ranged from 200,000 to over 800,000. most cases a single province was constituted a ken, in others two provinces were united. There was probably some political significance in the fact that what formerly constituted the dominions of the family and its cadets, namely the provinces of Nagato and Suwô, measuring 890,000 koku, were left intact, as was the case also with Inaba, Awa, and one or two other former kokushiu daimiates, whilst the dominions of Kaga and Higo were split up into as many as three parts, and even those of Satsuma were considerably diminished.

The Mikado had emerged, little by little, from his Emperor gradually retirement, and many more foreigners, including some from retireof the most distinguished in the Government service, were admitted to his Majesty's presence.

In the absence of the Austrian Minister I had the honour of presenting Baron Hübner on the 16th of September; and on the same day General Capron and

CHAP. XXVI. three other American citizens, who had been engaged by the Imperial Government mainly for the development of the resources of the Island of Yezo, were received by the Mikado. The report of the proceedings in the official Gazette is curious, and the use of the term bishin, which is put into the mouth of General Capron, and which must be translated "insignificant servant," is worth noticing, as showing the manner in which the Japanese officials affected to look down upon a distinguished foreigner, by whose services they were glad to profit, but whose inferiority to themselves they were careful to assume, at least in matters which met the eyes of their countrymen.

Translation from the Dajôkan Nisshi.

Audience of General Capron, &c.

- "The American Professor of Agricultural Knowledge, Capron, and three others went to Court at ten o'clock. A Jô of Foreign Affairs met them at the Inner Partition Gate, and conducted them to the Maple Pavilion, where tea and sweetmeats were bestowed upon them. The Daijô Daijin, the Sangi, the Minister and Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Vice-Minister of the Colonies, and the Chief of the Jibu met them. After a short interval had elapsed, his Majesty came forth in the Cascade-View Pavilion. The Minister for Foreign Affairs conducted Capron and the rest, and presented them to his Majesty.
 - "His Majesty's words were as follows:—
- "'You have been Chief of the Agricultural Department in the United States of America. You are said to have paid great attention to those branches of learning, and to be well acquainted with the methods of

advancing agriculture. We, feeling joy and respect on this account, have summoned you from afar, in the desire of causing you to help Our Minister and Vice-Minister of the Colony of Yezo, and to perform those functions. Do you, therefore, carry Our wishes into effect, and, uniting in counsel and effort, cause them to be successful in the work of colonization. This is what We greatly desire of you.'

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- "Capron's answer :—
- "' Your insignificant servant has been Chief of the Agricultural Learning Department in his own country, and has fortunately, during a number of years, performed his functions without mishap, and you have therefore summoned your insignificant servant to confer upon him an honourable and important trust in your country. Consequently, your insignificant servant will diligently perform the work of colonizing Yezo. Your insignificant servant has obtained the assistance of persons long and well skilled in these branches of learning, and has in his own country had practical experience. And in consequence of having paid great attention to that science, he believes that not only will a great advance be made in the art of agriculture, but also that much benefit will thereby ensue to internal commerce, which is the foundation of national wealth, as well as to the development of the art of manufacture.
- "'Making this his guiding principle, your insignificant servant will be unable not to exhaust his efforts, and he expects earnestly to develop the prosperity of Yezo. He will give faithful advice to the Minister and assist him.
- "'He respectfully thanks your Majesty for the audience accorded to your insignificant servant. He

believes that this is showing a mark of friendliness towards the American Government."*

Proclamation that Emperor will visit Hamagoten.

On the 1st of October the following proclamation was posted up at Yedo:—

[Translation.]

"His Majesty having declared his intention to visit his Palace on the sea-shore to-morrow, he will pass through the streets in the simplest possible style, so as not to cause any trouble or inconvenience to the lower classes along his road. The townspeople will therefore conduct themselves as on ordinary days. Of course the road must be properly swept, and a lantern suspended from the eave of the lower story of each house after nightfall, in accordance with the orders hitherto given, and special care must be taken to prevent any accidents from fires or lights."

Drives there in an open carriage. On the following morning, accordingly, his Majesty left the castle, and took his first drive in public in an open carriage drawn by four horses, and attended by a few officials on horseback, and by an escort of some forty cavalry. On his way his Majesty alighted at the houses of the Prime Minister Sanjô and the Minister for Foreign Affairs Iwakura, and they, as well as several other officials of rank, were entertained by their sovereign in the "Sea-shore Palace" (Hamagoten), at a meal served after European fashion. His Majesty returned in the afternoon to the castle in the

^{*} I trust I need hardly say that in transcribing this speech I am actuated by no motive against General Capron, whom I have the honour to know personally. The use of this obnoxious epithet shows the necessity of having a good interpreter attached to each Legation.

same simple style. Of this I was myself accidentally a witness in the main street, where each side was lined by townspeople, some of whom carried out the spirit of the notification by not remaining prostrate with their heads to the ground whilst the cavalcade passed by. Soldiers were stationed along the route, as in the case of a foreign Representative, or other distinguished stranger, going to Court, but there seemed to be no other extra preparation. The back seat of his Majesty's carriage was occupied by one of his gentlemen-in-waiting and by two pages. Other carriages conveyed high functionaries of the Court.

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Thus were the peculiar signs of obeisance, custom- Signs of obeisance ary on those rare occasions when the Mikado, veiled to his Majesty no from the eyes of his people, was taken out in state longer required. from his palace at Kiôto, declared to be no longer necessary, and the people were at liberty to stand up and gaze at their sovereign as he passed, just like Europeans. Another notification declared the intention of his Majesty to proceed to the same palace and to other places from time to time in simple style, and this intention was carried out. To-day the Emperor, and the Empress too, seem to go about much as other sovereigns.*

In this month a decree was published permitting Nobles may intermarry the nobles to intermarry with the ordinary people, with ordinary

* I have been credibly informed that no Empress had ever been allowed to leave the palace, except to be confined; that she was attended by vestals who had never beheld a man, and that not even the highest dignitaries were allowed to see her. I believe that some of these latter at last succeeded in penetrating to the present Empress's apartments and in seeing her. She subsequently was permitted to go to Hamagoten, and now she receives the wives of members of the diplomatic body.

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and by another decree the latter were allowed to wear the hakama or trousers, and the haori or mantles split up the back, hitherto only worn by samurai.

Not only were many ex-daimios, mostly young men, obtaining permission to go abroad, but before the end of the year (December 24) his Majesty addressed a message to the nobles, giving them permission to take the female members of their families members of with them. It is worth recording.

May take female family abroad.

[Translation.]

"We are of opinion that the reputation for civilization, wealth, and strength possessed by the countries of the globe arises from nothing else than the power of industry and perseverance which characterize their populations; and the reason why their populations develop their knowledge, polish their talents, and give effect to their power of industry and perseverance, is that each individual does his best as a member of the nation.

"We have lately changed our ancient system, and desire to run equally in the race with other How can we hope to succeed unless the countries. whole population unanimously exerts to the full its The nobles in power of industry and perseverance? particular, occupying as they do an honourable and important position, and being the object of the observation of the whole people, are looked upon as models of action. Is it possible to dispense with an extraordinary degree of industry and perseverance on their part, such as will fit them to be the leaders in animating the people? Their responsibilities are indeed grave. This is the reason why We summon you here to-day, in order that We may communicate

CHAP. XXVI. Our wishes to you in person. In order to secure the

result of industry and perseverance, nothing else is necessary but to develop knowledge and to polish the talents. In order to develop knowledge and polish the talents, nothing else is required but to fix the eyes upon the aspect of the civilization of the world, to cultivate pursuits of actual utility, to go abroad for purposes of study in foreign countries, and to learn practically. It may suffice, for those whose advanced age precludes their being able to remain and study, to make a tour abroad, to widen their circle of knowledge by seeing and hearing, and thus to improve their understanding. In consequence, too, of the want of a system of female education in our country, many women are deficient in intelligence. Besides, the education of children is a thing which is connected intimately with the instruction of their mothers, and is really a matter of the most absolute importance. There is therefore, of course, not the slightest objection to those who go abroad taking their wives, daughters, or sisters with them, so that they may learn that the instruction of females in foreign countries has a good foundation, and may become acquainted with the right system of educating children. If you will, all of you, really give your attention to this question and exert your powers of industry and perseverance, there will be no difficulty for Us in advancing in the region of civilization, in laying the foundation of wealth and strength, and in running equally in the race with the other countries of the world. Do you therefore take well to heart Our wishes, each of you do his best, and assist Us in gaining the object of Our hopes." *

^{*} Translated by Mr. Satow.

CHAP. XXVI. 1871. I have mentioned (vol. i., p. 77) the two sets of people called *eta* and *hinin*, who were lowest in the social scale. In October the following notification to local authorities was published:—

[Translation.]

Abolition of eta and hinin.

"The designations of eta and hinin are abolished. Those who bore them are to be added to the general registers of the population, and their social position and methods of gaining a livelihood are to be identical with the rest of the people. As they have been entitled to immunity from land-tax and other burdens by immemorial custom, you will inquire how this may be reformed, and report to the Board of Finance.

(Signed) "Council of State."

CHAPTER XXVII.

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Change in face of Yedo.—Further change in Constitution.—The Sei-In and Sa-In.—Pamphlet advocating Christianity.— Sudden removal of native Christians to Saga.—Restored to their Homes.

The face of Yedo had indeed undergone a great XXVII. change since I first visited it in 1868. The work of demolition and reconstruction was particularly to be observed in what has been generally called the official quarter. The daimios having been abolished, and no longer coming up to Yedo with retainers varying in number from two hundred to two thousand, they no longer required half-a-dozen yashikis apiece, with the wooden buildings surrounding them which had served these retainers for barracks. Indeed, the former clans were not allowed to retain more than one or two of these habitations, many were permitted to fall into ruin, and others had been demolished, so that here and there large plots of ground were laid bare. of these yashikis would include as much as twenty or thirty acres of land. One large flat piece was made into a parade ground; in an adjoining space brick buildings were being constructed by Mr. Waters, an

CHAP. XXVII. 1871. Change in face of Yedo.

Englishman, destined for barracks to lodge the Imperial troops. Almshouses, vegetable gardens, and even mulberry plantations occupied the sites of other yashikis; a number had been turned into public offices; and where formerly some haughty daimio lived in isolated state, squatting on the mats, eating his rice, and drinking his saké, a Japanese official, risen from the ranks of the samurai, now sat at a table, in European clothes, and enjoyed his more strengthening repast of beef, or even Shangai mutton, washed down with claret, beer, or champagne.

In the Odori, the prolongation of the tôkaidô from Shinagawa to the Nihon bashi, every kind of costume was to be seen, true Japanese, hybrid, or wholly European. Such a rage for hats of all kinds had set in, that the Yokohama shops were cleared once and again of every kind and shape, and it was not uncommon to see a samurai trudging along in badly fitting boots, a cotton umbrella in his hand, whilst his native dress, with its flowing sleeves, contrasted strangely with the grey felt hat upon his head, where the hair was allowed to grow freely as it listed, instead of being plastered and gathered up into a queue.

The city swarmed with soldiers, and especially near the temples in Shiba, and in the adjoining quarter called Shimmémai, numbers of young recruits, when not at drill, were to be seen wandering about making purchases, or staring into the shops. These youngsters, not always over civil either to natives or strangers, and inclined to be rude when in their cups on a holiday afternoon, were conspicuous from the red képi, which did not contrast ill with their dark uniforms.

Another new feature was the jin-riki-sha, which was

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rapidly taking the place of the kago. According to the valuable report for 1871 of Mr. Dohmen, her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Yedo, there were already over 10,000 of these vehicles. "The jin-riki-sha," he writes, "is a two-wheeled carriage or chair, the size of which is a little larger than a child's perambulator, from which the pattern appears to have been copied. It is just large enough for one man to sit in, and it is drawn by a coolie instead of a horse. The Government tariff, I am informed, is $\frac{1}{4}$ bu per ri, which is something like twopence a mile. Foreigners, however, are made to pay more. The jin-riki-sha are drawn at an average speed of about six miles an hour. Unfortunately, the occupation of the poor wretches who have to draw them is a very unhealthy one, as it leads in many cases to consumption. All these carriages have been introduced in one year. The Government revenue derived from them, by way of license, is eight mommé, or about sixpence per month each."

The very aspect of many shops was changed, for in most streets some were to be found where nothing but foreign articles were offered for sale. Much, too, of the furniture and arms of ex-daimios had been sold by the owners, as no longer required; and swords, spears, and armour could be purchased at reduced prices in every quarter of the city.*

* Yedo has proved a complete failure as a place of business for foreign merchants, and the few who, on the opening of the city to foreign trade on the 1st of January, 1869, tried the experiment, have found it an unremunerative speculation, and have, with the exception of two firms, withdrawn from the market. Mr. Dohmen, in his latest report, says:—

"The expectations that were at one time entertained that the railway between Yedo and Yokohama would effect an improvement in the direct trade with the capital, have not been realized;

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Further changes in constitution.

After the changes in the Government in August, and the important decree of the 29th of that month, other changes followed in the course of the year, and the form of the constitution was modified.

What was formerly called the Dajôkan, or Council The Sei-In. of State, was turned into the Chief College, or Sei-In. It was composed of the Daijô, Sa, and Udaijin, and of the Sangi, and formed the Council or Cabinet of the Sanjô was raised to the rank of Daijôdaijin, that of Sadaijin remained vacant, Iwakura became Udaijin, and Saigô, Kido, Itagaki, and Ôkuma —representing Satsuma, Chôshiu, Tosa, and Hizen were the Sangi.

> The Benkuan, a body of men to whom all matters had formerly been referred by the different departments for the consideration of the Dajôkan, were abolished, and all business was to be transacted directly between the Imperial Council and the chiefs These were to constitute together of departments. the U-In, or Right College, which was to meet once a week, but in fact never seems to have done so, and all its business was transacted at the Imperial Council.

> The old attempts at a Parliament had resulted in failure, but there was still a desire to retain some species of deliberative Assembly; and the consequence was the creation of the Sa-In, or Left College, the

The Sa-In.

on the contrary, the little trade that was done previous to the opening of the railway has since been transferred to Yokohama. This is explained by the circumstance that, owing to the great convenience and cheapness of travelling between the two places, the native merchant of Yedo now makes all his purchases of foreign goods at Yokohama, where he finds a greater variety of articles, and probably cheaper prices, than on the spot. consequence is that the foreign settlement of Yedo has become literally deserted."

members of which were nominated by the Sovereign, like our Privy Council, and consisted of a President, Vice-President, and a quantity of subordinates of different ranks.

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I have never been able to ascertain what the functions of this Council are, or what they really have It has been described as a refuge for all done or do. kinds of political visionaries, who had thus an opportunity of ventilating their theories without doing any harm, because their debates were never published, and their decisions could not be enforced.

The executive part of the Government consisted of the Ministers and Vice-Ministers of the eight departments: Religion, Treasury, Foreign Affairs, War, Education, Justice, Public Works, and Imperial Household.

Soyéjima, formerly a Sangi, succeeded Iwakura as Soyéjima Minister for Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Terashima still re-Affairs. tained his place as Vice-Minister.

In the latter part of the year a remarkable pam- Pamphlet in favour phlet appeared in Yedo, advocating the introduction of Christianity. Christianity into Japan. It was widely circulated, and was read by many natives with much interest. It assumed to be written by the subject of a foreign Power, and was addressed to the Emperor.

After paying a warm tribute of praise to the reforms which had been introduced into Japan since the Restoration, this pretended subject of a foreign Power states that there is one matter which caused him regret; and, after further expatiating on the adoption of Western civilization, teachers, dress, and food, he mentions this matter by declaring that he cannot understand why the prohibition against the foreign religion has not been removed. It could not

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be because it was a national prohibition, for intercourse with foreigners, the study of their books, &c., which had been similarly prohibited, were now allowed. It is called an evil religion. How does his Majesty know it to be evil? It is impossible to know the nature of anything till it has been tried. Formerly all foreigners were called barbarians, but now that Japanese had come to know foreigners, they called them barbarians no more. And, similarly, they had learnt to experience the good of much which they had lately adopted from the West.

The author proceeds, in a remarkable passage, to attribute the strength and wealth of Western countries to a number of good men who were animated by the spirit of their religion, which was the fountain whence sprang their good government. "The strength," he writes, "of their perseverance and endurance is all rooted in the three Virtues taught by their Religion, namely, Faith, Hope, and Charity, without exception." Their outward appearance is the flourishing condition of the flowers and leaves, but their religion is the root. Now, Japan is delighted with the flowers and leaves, but will take no account of the root. But if the root is evil, so are the flowers and leaves; if the religion of those countries is evil, then they must be evil also. Their men, their miraculous arts and inventions, must be evil. The foreign teachers and artisans, and the foreign merchants in Japan, must be evil. All these should therefore be rejected and expelled, and a severe law of prohibition should be passed against them.

"The subject of a foreign State," says the author with unusual boldness, "does not admire your Majesty's course of action." He asks why the countries of the East are despised by the West, and answers

that it is because the former hate the religion of the latter. This is why the Western people despise a large country like China, whereas they respect the Sandwich Islands, "an isolated group in the middle of the Pacific Ocean no bigger than a musketbullet," because the King believes in their religion.

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The author says further, that if his Majesty does not remove the prohibition against the Western religion, his country may endeavour to learn the European science of government and other arts, but it will never be able to make any real advance; and he advises the Emperor to receive the rite of baptism, become the head of the new Church, and the leader of his people in professing the Western religion. Then the sovereigns of Western countries will love and respect his Majesty, their people will bless him, and Japan will become the Europe of the East.

When it is considered that, three years previously, pamphlets, appeared denouncing Christianity in the most violent terms, it is extraordinary, indeed, that such a defence of it should be permitted to circulate freely in Yedo.

And yet a further persecution of Christians about Sudden removal of the very end of the year was reported from Nagasaki. Christians from neighbourhead of Some sixty or seventy men in the neighbourhood were Nagasaki to confinesuddenly transported from their abodes to Saga, ment at Saga. formerly the castle-town of the Prince of Hizen. story was that these men had been unruly, had fallen out with their neighbours, and had behaved in such a manner that it had been considered necessary to remove them temporarily to Saga, where they were placed under surveillance, and were being lectured for their evil conduct.

There was an attempt to ignore the fact that these

CHAP. XXVII. 1871. poor men were Christians, but of this there could be no reasonable doubt, and everything seemed to point to that independent action on the part of local officials which so often happens in Japan; sometimes to the great embarrassment of the central Government, and in opposition to their views, and even to their instructions.

Count Turenne, the French Chargé d'Affaires, and I, felt it to be our duty to point out to the Government that there was every reason to believe that the action of these officials was opposed to the promises made to the foreign Representatives that persecution of native Christians should cease, and to urge that these people should be restored to their homes. The Government responded to our appeal, and we had the satisfaction of hearing that they were conveyed back to their native village, after a period of confinement.

They are conveyed back to their native village.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1871.

Idea of an Embassy to Treaty Powers.—Its ostensible Object.— First intention to appoint one Ambassador.—Four associate Ambassadors subsequently appointed, and a host of other officials.—Supposed failure of Objects.—Letter of Credence to U.S. President.—Real object probably abolition of Extraterritoriality Clause.—Foreign lawyers engaged.—Code to be drawn up.—Not sufficient for abolition of the clause.— Cruelty in Criminal Procedure.—Brutal conduct of Yedo Police.—Harm of indiscriminate praise of Japan.—Steady progress required.

It was, I believe, soon after the decree of the 29th of CHAP. August, that the idea of an Embassy to the United Idea of an Embassy to States and Europe began to germinate in the minds Treaty Powers. of members of the Cabinet. The date fixed for the revision of the treaties was the 1st of July, 1872, and they felt that an important epoch was approaching for Japan. They expressed themselves anxious to sible object. communicate to the Governments of Treaty Powers details of the internal history of their country during the years preceding the revolution of 1868, and the restoration of the Mikado's power, and to explain fully the actual state of affairs and the future policy of the Government. They also thought it important, on their part, to take measures for learning the insti-

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tutions of other countries, and for gaining a more precise knowledge of their laws, commerce, and education, as well as of their naval and military systems.

This could only be effected by a special Embassy, to which would be attached members of different departments of the administration. The points for revision in the treaties could then, they considered, be discussed with the different foreign Governments.

Utility of project depended on mode of execution.

There could be no doubt, I think, that the project in itself was sensible, and that inasmuch as the Mikado's Government was becoming a real power, the time was well chosen for the despatch of an Embassy. But its utility, and the results to be obtained, would depend upon how the project was carried out. In the days of the bakufu, missions had been sent from Japan, composed of several envoys at a time, with equal rank among themselves, and of inferior rank and little influence in their own country. What was now required was one single Ambassador, to be chosen out of the men who had taken a prominent part in the events of the last few years, and who occupied a high position in the actual Government. Such a man would carry weight with him, would be able to speak in the name of his sovereign on all matters connected with Japan, and would be listened to with attention. He would directly represent the Mikado, restored to all his rights, and would be in an entirely different position from previous Envoys, who represented the "Tycoon," that pseudo-sovereign who had imposed upon us during our first years of intercourse.

There should be one Ambas-sador to represent the sove-reign.

The Ambassador would of course be accompanied by other officials, but it seemed important that his rank, as the direct representative of his sovereign, should shine out clearly above the others, to whom XXVIII. some such lower title as Councillor of Embassy might be given.

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And this was the first idea of the Cabinet when the Embassy was really decided upon. Iwakura was to be the Ambassador, and to him were to be attached the Sangi Kido and the Minister of Finance Ôkubo, as Councillors of Embassy.

How it came to pass that the Cabinet changed Four associate Amtheir views, that whilst Iwakura was denominated first subse-Ambassador, the two others above mentioned were appointed, and a host given, together with Itô, Vice-Minister of Public of other officials. Works, and Yamaguchi, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, the title of Associate Ambassadors; how, what with Secretaries, Commissioners, and other officials, the whole number of Japanese connected with this Embassy, who embarked on board the P.M.S.S. "America," on the 23rd of December, had gradually swelled until it was hardly short of fifty, I am not in a position to state. It was a subject of regret to me, as well as to others who had kindly feelings towards Japan, that the character of the Mission had thus been changed, and that it had assumed such gigantic proportions; it was evident that it would now entail a most lavish expense upon a country already laying out enormous sums in every branch of the administration, and there was a foreboding that its expected usefulness would be impaired.

It is not within the limits of this book to follow the Embassy, first to the United States, where they tarried for many months with the object, it was said, of concluding a fresh treaty then and there; then to England and the Continent of Europe. Instead of

CHAP. XXVIII. 1871. being absent a year, as was originally intended, it was not till the 13th of September, 1873, that Iwakura landed at Yokohama on his return.

And the revision of the treaties, put off at the request of the Japanese Government, has not yet taken place.

Supposed failure of objects of Embassy.

What then had the Embassy effected? Had its programme been carried out? Had the history of the past few years, the actual state of affairs, and the future policy of the Government of Japan, been explained to the Governments of Treaty Powers?

I think it will be found that no such explanations as had been originally intended were vouchsafed by the Embassy to these Governments, and there is no doubt that the principal members returned in no satisfied mood to Japan. Something then must have occurred to alter the intentions of these Ambassadors, and we shall not have far to look for it.

Letter of credence to U.S. President.

In the Letter of Credence presented by Iwakura to the President of the United States, which has been published, it is said that the Mission was sent to declare the cordial friendship of the Emperor, and to place the peaceful relations between the Treaty Powers and Japan on a firmer and broader basis. The letter continues thus:—

"The period for revising the treaties now existing between ourselves and the United States is less than one year distant. We expect and intend to reform and improve the same so as to stand upon a similar footing with the most enlightened nations, and to attain the full development of public right and interest. The civilization and institutions of Japan are so different from those of other countries, that we cannot expect to reach the desired end at once.

"It is our purpose to select from the various CHAP. institutions prevailing among enlightened nations such as are best suited to our present condition, and adopt them, in gradual reforms and improvements of our policy and customs, so as to be upon an equality with them.

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"With this object, we desire to fully disclose to the United States' Government the condition of affairs in our Empire, and to consult upon the means of giving greater efficiency to our institutions, at present and in the future; and as soon as the said Embassy returns home we will consider about the revision of the treaties, and accomplish what we have expected and intended."

In the above quotation it will be observed that the Real object probably Mikado declares his expectation and intention to extra-territoriality reform and improve the treaties so as to stand upon clause. a similar footing with the most enlightened nations, and to attain the full development of public right and interest, and his Majesty also speaks of adopting institutions from these nations, so as to be upon an equality with them.

Have we not here the key-note to the whole, the real object of the Embassy?

It is no secret that the darling object of the ambition of Japanese statesmen is the abolition of the system of extra-territoriality sanctioned by the present treaties, and the transfer of all jurisdiction over foreigners to native officials. This is surely a laudable ambition, and every one who has filled a diplomatic position in Japan would be delighted to see the time arrive when the sole administration of justice over foreigners could be safely handed over to the Japanese.

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But that moment has not yet come. Since the return, however, of the Ambassadors to their native country, it has been openly asserted, nor as far as I know has it ever been contradicted, that their real object had all along been to obtain from the Treaty Powers the abolition of extra-territoriality; and it is known that, inasmuch as they had not succeeded in this, they have shown a determination not to cede to foreigners any right of travel in the interior of Japan upon reasonable conditions.

Foreign lawyers engaged. Code to be drawn up. It appears that the Government had engaged the services of a French lawyer, who was to draw up a code based upon the Code Napoléon; they had also taken into their service an English and an American lawyer, and they seem to have supposed that they had only to produce their new code, and the Treaty Powers would at once recognize their right to claim the sole administration of justice. I have actually seen this pretention supported in an English magazine of repute.

Not sufficient for abolition of the clause.

But surely it is not upon the simple production of a code of laws, drawn up by foreign lawyers, that the subjects of Treaty Powers are to be handed over to Japanese jurisdiction! Could any diplomatist be so rash as to recommend such a step to his Government? We must not forget that Japan is a country just emerging from the feudal system, after the lapse of centuries, during which the only real law has been the sword, during which the military class oppressed the people, where there was no right but might, where the officials were but too steeped in corruption.* Of civil

^{*} The late Mr. Seward, who, on his journey round the world, paid a visit to Japan in 1870, is stated, after his return to the

law there is little, and the criminal procedure has been tainted with cruelty and rendered infamous by the application of torture.

To illustrate this I may remark that, in several Cruelty in criminal cases which have come to my knowledge, some one procedure. at least of the persons taken up on suspicion of being

United States, to have replied to the question of a reporter of the New-York Herald as to whether the Japanese Government was as corrupt as the Chinese: "Oh no; it is on the contrary very honest. There is an aristocracy in Japan, and it has full control of the Government."

This assertion requires correction. That there are honest men in the Mikado's Government I make no manner of doubt; but that there has been, and still is, a system of wide corruption among the officials in different parts of the Empire will not, I opine, be denied by any member of that Government. This cancer of corruption is one of the most serious questions for the future of Japan. As long as it continues, how is the condition of the peasant to be raised, and how is he to have any incentive to work and to attempt to become rich? Where such corruption exists he (as has been remarked to me) is born poor, is clothed in rags, and ends his days as he began, in squalid poverty. would seem that the perversion of public money is by many hardly looked upon as discreditable; and from the miners, for instance, whose hours of work were put down in the accounts at double the real number in order to defraud the local Government, up to some of the highest officials, the existence of a wholesale system of plunder is only too evident. One province may be worse than another, but in only too many instances the fact remains that the peasants are robbed to keep up the Government, and much of the money exacted from them goes into the pockets of the corrupt officials. We are forcibly reminded of the tchinovnicks of Russia.

Hence from time to time disturbances, some of which have already been recorded, in provinces which are not completely under the iron rule of the military.

It is sad to record such matters, but it is in the true interest of Japan to do so.

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concerned in a crime has died in prison. In the case of Mr. Hoey, who was murdered in Yokohama on the night of the 28th of December, 1869, a most important witness was left to languish and die under examination; again, when some grooms belonging to the party who accompanied me to the silk districts in 1869 had been imprisoned for misconduct, and for extorting money from innkeepers on the road, one had expired in prison before judgment was given.

But the worst example, perhaps, which I can mention was that of certain witnesses in a case brought before the United States' Consular Court, in March, 1871, who were in such a pitiable condition that the proceedings had to be adjourned till they could be restored to sufficient health to give evidence. This case, in which an American was charged with being concerned in forging paper-money, was subsequently tried, and the prisoner was convicted; but out of the four Japanese who were to have given evidence, two had never recovered the effects of their treatment, and the remaining two were in a sad condition, and gave their evidence in a most hesitating and unsatisfactory manner.

Brutal conduct of Yedo police.

That the police of Yedo are not fit to be trusted to deal with foreigners has never been more clearly exemplified than in the following instance, which occurred so lately as the 6th of May, 1874:—

A body of this force entered the enclosure of the new British Legation, which is in course of construction. They were armed with their heavy staves, about four feet long and two inches in diameter. One man seized Constable Wood, a member of the Legation Escort, who was in charge of the premises,

and gave an order to the others, who immediately rushed upon Wood in a body, and commenced striking him with their staves, and dragging him away. They carried him along several streets for about a mile, to a police station, the blood streaming down his face from the wounds on his head. All the way along they pulled and pushed him, and if he attempted to look round, they lifted their staves, and threatened to

strike him. They called him names, and repeatedly

spat in his face.

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Mr. Satow, on hearing of this brutal outrage, went to the police office, and demanded that Wood should be given up to him. This was flatly refused, but ultimately he obtained the discharge of his unfortunate countryman through an official of the Home Department.

There appears to have been an altercation between one of the English building officers and a policeman at the new Legation, but of this Wood was entirely ignorant; and of course the police had no right, without previous permission, even to enter the precincts of the enclosure.

Now, to return to the projected code, how is it possible that all of a sudden, as it were by a miracle, its production is to create upright and learned judges? There is no bar in Japan, judges cannot be made by machinery, and, in any event, to insure even moderate justice, years and years of training will be required. How long will it take the Japanese mind to understand thoroughly what justice is, and to dispense it fearlessly and honestly?

It has been too much the fashion for writers with little knowledge of their subject to lavish indiscriminate CHAP. XXVIII. 1871.

praise upon Japan. They have been charmed with the spectacle of a nation giving up its isolation of centuries, and adopting in so short a time the civilization and customs of the West. Foreigners, too, in their service have, it is currently reported, taken the same line, and have impressed upon the Japanese their right to be admitted at once to an equality with Western nations.

Harm of indiscriminate praise of Japan.

The harm that all such indiscriminate praise has done and is doing to Japan is incalculable, and every true well-wisher of the country deplores it. It is impossible, I think, for one like myself, who has passed four years of his life in Japan during such eventful times, who has lived much among the natives and travelled much in different parts of their picturesque country, not to take a deep interest in its future. And it is deplorable to see what a wrong road Japan (at least in my opinion) is taking. This exaggerated praise is simply increasing that selfconceit which is often found in the samurai, and is due in a great degree, as perhaps with us Englishmen in former times, to geographical position and isolation. It is the duty of every true friend of Japan to attempt to check that evil quality, and to display the shallow arguments of some writers in their real light.

Let the Japanese not think that, as a recent writer has announced, they have in one short generation achieved a position in the civilized world that the foremost nations of Europe took centuries to accomplish; let them not expect to be the equal of other nations all at once; but let them rather apply their undoubted intelligence to the task of infusing

the principles of truth and justice into the rising XXVIII. generation, and of substituting earnest and patient steady prostudy for the fitful work which only ensures a gress required. superficial knowledge; let them be content with steady progress, and so let them choose for their motto not what the same writer declares to be the national cry: "Forward! Onward! NEW JAPAN; the Land of the Rising Sun!" but rather one drawn from Italy: "Chi va piano va sano!"

Rome was not built in a day.



APPENDIX I.

EDUCATION.

In 1873 and 1874 there appeared in the Japan Mail a series of articles on Education in Japan, written by a gentleman who is evidently possessed of much experience of his subject; and that subject is so important, and is so bound up with the future of the country about which I have been writing, that a few extracts from these articles will surely find an appropriate place here.

The old typical Japanese teacher, says the writer, is rapidly passing away. Like the "ripe scholar" of other lands, he has fallen out of his place, because his work was done. Learning was his chief qualification; skill, ability to impart his acquisitions, were his last requirements. His chief duty was to stuff and cram the minds of his pupils. To expand or develop the mental powers of a boy, to enlarge his mental vision, to teach him to think for himself, would have been doing precisely what it was the teacher's business to prevent. So long as education consisted in a treadmillround of committing to memory the Chinese classics, learning to read Japanese history and Government edicts, to write, and to reckon on the abacus, such a thing as mental development was unknown. There was but one standard the Chinese classics. Every departure from these was a false step. Everything new must be wrong. Science was never taught, mathematics were confined to the four fundamental rules of arithmetic, independent thought and investigation were branded as criminal. The might of priestcraft hedged in the mind in the direction of metaphysical speculation; the Chinese classics dominated, with a despotism that can at best be but faintly conceived by a foreigner, over the field of politics and morals; while the all overshadowing power of the great usurper in Yedo prevented all historical research, study, or composition, except what related to the distant past. Shut out from all contact with other intellects, the "ripe scholar" and the "great teacher" of old Japan were but schoolmen. The intellect of this nation, like the arborial wonders of the Japanese florist, with its tap-root cut, deprived of fertilizing moisture and stinted as to soil, became like the admired dwarf pines four inches high, and as gnarled and as curious as they.

The manner of life of the old Japanese instructor was to squat on the floor, with his five or six pupils squatting about him and supporting their elbows on a sort of table one foot high. Beginning with the first, he taught each pupil the pronunciation of the Chinese characters. After the entire book had been committed to memory by sound, without any reference to sense, the pupil began again, and learned from his teacher the meaning of the characters. On the third reading the book was expounded to the pupil. Rarely did a reading class number more than six. The work of the teacher was simply oral communication, and that of the pupil imitation. Learning by heart and copying constituted a Japanese youth's education. The old teachers of Japan and the Chinese scholars, though a very respectable body of men, did undoubtedly help to repress the intellect of their countrymen, and must be looked upon as co-workers with the bonze and the official spy.

The writer well observes that the native teacher of the future must depend less on traditional authority, and more on the resources of a richly furnished mind. He must be a student himself. He must be able to get out of the ruts. He must be capable of developing the minds of youth, not merely of stuffing them. He must welcome the appearance of an unusually bright and eager mind as a gem to be

polished with extra care, and not as a stone to be crushed into regulation, shape, and size for the common turnpike road. The new teacher must banish his pipe and pouch, his hibachi and tea-cups, from the school-room. He must taboo his lounges and abandon the habit of being regularly ill. He must stand up to his work. The great difference between a foreigner and a Japanese is that one stands up to his work, and the other sits down at it. He who can stand can do more and better work than he who sits.

The writer devotes another article entirely to the old system of education. He remarks that the secular teacher's vocation can scarcely be said to have existed prior to the days of the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty. There were no doubt many learned men previously, but education was in the hands of the priests, very much to the same extent as in Europe prior to the Reformation. The bonzes of Japan are to be credited with being mainly instrumental in spreading a knowledge of the rudiments of education throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. During many centuries previous to Iyéyasu's time, the very numerous warrior class, like the knights of mediæval Europe, despised a knowledge of letters as beneath the dignity of a soldier, and worthy only of the bard and priest. Hence in Japanese mediæval history, as in European, the shaven-pated and robed priest nearly always figures on state occasions.

The profound peace enjoyed throughout the Empire during the dynasty of the Tokugawa shôguns made possible the rise and honourable recognition of the secular teacher as an influential and respected member of society. Japanese literati regard the latter part of the last and the first part of the present century as the period during which Japanese learning and literature flourished most; but the technical organization of the schools and means of culture, according to the old order of things, was most perfect at the time of the appearance of Commodore Perry at Uraga.

The chief centres of learning were at Kiôto and Yedo, in which cities the highest educational institutions existed, and which may out of compliment be called universities. Kiôto was the seat of ecclesiastical and æsthetic learning, and

its literati excelled in the cultivation of the pure Japanese language, both in its ancient and modern forms. In Yedo was the highest seat of Chinese learning in the land. Besides the schools and literary activity of the two capitals, there was in nearly every daimio's provincial capital a school for the instruction of the sons of samurai.

These schools, which numbered more than a hundred, and maintained a nearly uniform standard of excellence, were established solely for the benefit of the samurai class. The sons of merchants or farmers were not allowed to enter them, and no public provision was made for their instruc-The education of these boys, as well as that of the daughters of the samurai, was left to parents or private tutors. Whatever knowledge the children of the lower classes could pick up was obtained from the priest, from their parents, or in the private schools, of which there were many in every great city, and one of which was to be found in every large village. So general, indeed, was the existence of private schools and schoolmasters, that, in the absence of exact statistics, it is very probably safe to say that threefourths of the population of Japan could then, as now, read and write the kana,* reckon on the abacus, and read the easy literature published in the kana character.

The writer spent one year in one of the largest of these schools for *samurai* in the capital of one of the most enterprising clans, and thus saw the old system in full operation.

* Much of the confusion arising from the old method of writing Japanese is now avoided by the use of the alphabets, or rather syllabaries, known as the *katakana* and the *hiragana*.

The hiragana syllabary can hardly be called an invention. It is nothing more than abbreviated cursive forms of a limited number of the more common Chinese characters. This syllabary consists of forty-seven syllables, but each syllable is represented by several characters, so that the entire number of signs amounts to several hundred.

The *katakana* syllabary is of a more artificial character. It consists, like the *hiragana*, of forty-seven syllables, but there is only one sign for each.

Vide Mr. W. G. Aston's admirable "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," p. 3. It was published in 1872 for the author, who is Interpreter and Translator to the British Legation, Yedo, and a first-rate Japanese scholar, at the Office of the *Phænix* in London.

The Japanese lad, it appears, began his education at the age of six or seven years. There were three grades of schools, Sho, Chiu, and Dai Gakkô.* In many of the daimios' capitals the latter was wanting; the one in Yedo might with some show of propriety be called a university.

The Japanese pupil took his first steps in learning by mastering the hiragana and katakana. He must know how to read and write both styles before he began the study of Chinese characters. The average boy spent five years in the Sho, or Primary School. During the first year he began the study of the Chinese classics. The method of learning these books was to go through each one, studying the sound only of each character. A Japanese lad must therefore know the sound of every character in the book before he had an idea of what a single one of them meant. This is as if an English boy attacking Homer or the Hebrew Bible were to learn to read the book through, pronouncing every word carefully, but knowing nothing of its meaning or the construction of the language. And in the case of the Japanese lad, he must learn nearly two thousand characters and several hundred sounds, before receiving an explanation of their meaning. The books mastered as to sense and meaning during the years spent in the Primary School were the Small Learning, the Moral Duties of Man, Confucius's Four Books of Morals, the Three Character Book of Morals, the Book of Filial Duties, the Book of Great Lineage, Ancestry of the Mikado, and the Entrance to Knowledge, Duties of Cleanliness, Obedience, etc.

The scholar's work during the first year was with kana and the sound of the Chinese characters. In the second year the writing of Chinese characters was begun, and continued thenceforward as a never-ending part of his education. He learned to write the names of all the Emperors,† of all the large cities, provinces, and the geographical divisions of Japan, his own name and that of his family, the names of streets, familiar objects, the characters for points of the compass, the seasons, names of

^{*} i.e. Small, Middle, and Great School.

 $[\]dagger$ i.e. the names by which they were known after death.

countries, of years, chronological era, etc., and to read and copy proclamations and edicts on the notice-boards.

During the third year, the Japanese lad learned the four rudimental rules of arithmetic, and the use of the abacus, a point at which the mathematical education of the vast majority of Japanese ended. He also read the Book of Heroes—a book containing biographies of model men and women, moral anecdotes, accounts of virtuous and noble actions, etc. The study of the Chinese classics was continued. Much time was spent in writing Chinese characters, and several hours a week were given to the practical study of etiquette, how to walk, to bow, to visit, to talk, etc. Examinations were held twice a year, at which the daimio or high officials were present and delivered prizes to the most diligent and successful, who were then graduated into the Chiu, or Middle School.

Hitherto the education was moral and intellectual. the Middle School the physical education began. course comprised three years, during which daily lessons in either fencing, wrestling, or spear exercise, and a monthly practice on horseback under expert instructors, were parts of the curriculum. It would be tedious to detail all the studies of the Middle School, but in substance they were simply an advance on the line of studies of the Small School. The lads read the History of China, the Book of Rhetoric, a brief History of Japan, and a large book of Japanese strategy, containing remarkable feats in war, narratives of heroes, etc. They learned the various styles of Chinese learning, how to write official and private letters, both original and after models. In arithmetic they learned to count large numerical quantities, and to solve problems by the four fundamental rules. They studied the topography of Japan with considerable thoroughness, and read an epitome of universal geography.

In the Dai, or High School, the students spent more time in the gymnasium and on the riding course, becoming proficient in riding, wrestling, archery, fencing, long and short spear exercise, and in the various arts by which an unarmed man may defend his life and injure his enemy: Their reading now took a higher range, embracing such well-known historical classics as the *Nihon Guaishi*, the *Dai Nihon Shi*, etc. In arithmetic, vulgar and decimal fractions, the rule of three, involution, evolution, and progression were taught. A little algebra was introduced into some of the schools, but only a small minority of students reached the maximum of mathematical studies presented above.

In the Sei Do, or old Chinese college in Yedo, the course of literary study ranged somewhat higher, and original composition in Chinese was made a specialty.

The usual time allotted for study in all the schools was six hours a day: from 6 to 12 a.m. in summer, from 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. in the spring and autumn, and from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. in winter. No long vacation was given in summer, but the regular holidays throughout the year were numerous, and at the beginning of the year the schools were closed for several weeks.

In general the disciplinary rules of the schools were strictly observed. Each scholar must wear the hakama, or trousers formerly distinguishing the samurai. If late, he could not enter the school for that day. When once in he was not allowed to leave till school was out. The rewards at the end of the year were pieces of silk, ink-stones, brush-pens, paper, silver coin; and the highest, at the Chinese college in Yedo, was a robe on which the crest of the shôgun was embroidered, with the privilege of always wearing the garment in public. The most common punishments were confinement to the room or house, whipping on the front of the leg or on the back, walking up and down for several hours with one of the small writing-tables on the head, having the moxa burned on the forefinger, etc. Of the teachers, some taught only the sound of the characters, others the meaning of the separate characters, others were expounders or exegetes. Writing, arithmetic, and each athletic exercise were taught by special instructors. of the teachers made teaching their permanent work, and of the scholars, probably not more than a third completed the full course of studies. It was absolutely necessary, however, that a samurai should have been at least through the Small School. Without this rudimentary education he could not become a householder.

After the above sketch of the old system of education, the writer draws the following conclusions as to its effect on the mind and temper of the samurai:—

It gave the Japanese youth the merest scraps of information about other countries outside of Japan and China. It gave him a wonderful dexterity in the manipulation of the pen, a minute knowledge of two Asiatic countries, it trained the memory, and stored the mind with a few facts and many precepts. It made him obedient, respectful to superiors, and reverent to parental and government authority, to such an extent indeed as to destroy all manly self-reliance. It gave him a strong, healthy, and muscular body. It made him an athlete and a warrior, inured him to pain (for he had to go through many violent exercises in very cold weather), and taught him to despise death. long training in the atheistic morals of Confucius and Mencius gave him a reverence for antiquity and literary authority, and made him sceptical to any form of supernatural religion. It made him loyal, rather than patriotic; his clan and lord were his idols, rather than his country and people. It perfected him in feats of moral strategy, and made him crafty and sinuous. It was the education perfectly fitted to conserve the unique state of society, in Japan, in which a class of governing military-literati, secularly educated, lived among an inferior mass of people religiously educated. Confucius, the historical classics, the sword, government, and privilege, were on one side; Buddha, the bonze, the tools of labour, unquestioning submission, were on the other. In such a state of society and under such an education, the samurai of the noblest type was courteous, temperate, forbearing, faithful to promise, filial, loyal, sceptical, ready to face an enemy or death, proud of his clan and lord first, and of his country next, kind to inferiors, loftily scornful of trade, useful labour or knowledge, a soldier, a scholar, a gentleman. A samurai of the lower type was at times craftily courteous and

insolently rude, loved lying so much as to reduce it to a fine art, delighted to attack an enemy—in the rear; delighted in abject servility to superiors and swaggering brutality to inferiors, was pedantic in learning, boastful in speech, intemperate and sensual in living, with even a more loftily towering contempt for honest industry and useful labour, and looked upon the man who ate his own bread and earned his own living as the vilest of vermin.

In another article the writer speaks of the fact that a great number of the Japanese youths who first went abroad, and remained there for some years, pursuing their studies, took Europeans and Americans by storm from their earnestness, their eagerness and capacity for learning, and their politeness and general good behaviour.

He then observes that it must be borne in mind that they were in general carefully chosen, on account of their character and ability, out of the best representatives of Japan's intellect, that they were of high social position and hereditary culture. They were thus above the average, and by no canon of justice would it be fair to compare them with the average Western student. Further, in very many cases, extraordinary facilities were afforded to them for procuring tutorial aids. These students were of course very different from the tourists of a year or so.

The writer then describes the average Japanese student, such, no doubt, as he had found him, bright, quick, eager, earnest, and faithful; delighting his teacher's heart by his docility, his industry, his obedience, his reverence, his politeness. In the course of five years' teaching no instance, it is recorded, could be remembered of rudeness, no case of slander, no uncanny trick, no impudent reply. Some teachers, it is true, have complained of deception and lying practised by their pupils. But the experience of the writer is different. Indeed, he considers that, in almost all the gentler virtues, in abstinence from what is rude, coarse, and obscene, the average Japanese schoolboy is rather the superior of his confrère in the West; whilst in the hereditary virtues of respect to superiors, obedience, politeness, and self-control, he is unquestionably the superior. In fire,

energy, manly independence, and all those positive virtues which are exhibited in action, and not in abstinence, the Japanese is declared to be quite inferior to the Western student. In intellectual power and general ability the average Japanese student is probably the equal of the average student in Europe or the United States.

In another article the writer observes that the study of Western languages in Japan was of a sporadic and desultory character till the establishment of the Mombu shô, or Department of Education. Unfortunately, as he says, the officials accepted as instructors of their youth men of whatever sort who applied for places, and the majority of the "professors" were graduates of the dry-goods counter, the forecastle, the camp, and the shambles, or belonged to that vast array of unclassified humanity that float like waifs in every sea-port. Coming directly from the bar-room, the gambling saloon, or the resort of boon companions, they brought the graces, the language, and the manners of these places into the school-room. A great variety of trades and professions were represented by these gentry. Yet the only known instance in which Japanese pride revolted, and by which the reputation of the Mombu shô was endangered, was after a report had been circulated that one of the "professors" in the school was a butcher by trade. Some lingering religious prejudice doubtless had something to do with this objection to a man who had formerly slain beeves; for wherein a butcher is less qualified to be a teacher than a sailor or tinsmith does not appear to a foreign eye. not wonderful that smoking, chewing, and plentiful expectoration of tobacco in the recitation rooms were common, and that swearing at interpreters and scholars, and the calling of such names as "fool," "idiot," "stupid," etc., were more than occasional.

Much of this was no doubt gradually reformed, and professional gentlemen, trained to their work, gradually became numerous.

But these gentlemen, when they arrived in Japan, found themselves treated very differently from what they were led to expect. They had been told by their polite Japanese friends that they would be treated with the highest honour. They came from many countries, and the American and English newspapers were full of praise for the Government by whom they had been engaged.

But Japan is the land of surprises. The native official does not like the professional teachers, the college-bred men, the professors. He thinks they are obstinate, rebellious, excessively troublesome. Foolish men that they are, they expect to have a voice in the government of the school, and even want to regulate the studies. Worse than that, they sometimes ignore the "rules," and trample underfoot the first instincts of a native official. It is a fact, but not a wonder, that the latter has a chronic antipathy to a genuine teacher, and prefers the man whom he can pick up, and whom he can rule. The Japanese officials are prone to look upon foreigners engaged by them as inferiors, much in the light of hired servants. They cannot do without these foreigners as yet, but power is not to be entrusted to them.

Since the first beginning of foreign education in Yedo, the native officials placed over the foreign teachers by the Mombu shô have been utterly unfit for their posts as directors of schools of foreign education. Refusing to put any powers in the hands of their foreign servants, they spent their time chiefly in hampering the efforts of these teachers, in impeding progress, and apparently endeavouring to stamp all hope and energy out of the pupils. As the Japanese have the curious custom of changing their own names several times during their life, true to their customs they changed the name of their chief school four times in little more than as many years. Something deeper than instinct actuated them in this phase of their educational policy. Each change involved appointments, promotions, and a vast amount of clerical, carpenter's and contractor's work. In a native official's eye, he cannot be efficient unless he makes many rules. Hence rule after rule, regulation after regulation, was showered so fast that one poetically inclined was reminded of autumn leaves. Many of them were so unnecessary, so unreasonable, and often so trivial, that the foreign teachers could not obey them. The native officials, however, varied their leisure by changing the course of studies, and adopting new ones. The new curricula not being found satisfactory would be changed again and again, to the great confusion and detriment of the students. And even if, after some time, an official had gained some routine knowledge, and some faint conception of foreign education, he would probably be promoted to a higher office in the same or another department, and a new, inexperienced, and incompetent man would take his place.

The remedy, of course, is to place all educational matters wholly under the care of a competent and faithful foreign master. He must have full power to choose the studies, and to govern his classes.

Plenty of work would remain for the native official. He would be warden over the pupils; he might have charge of the pecuniary affairs; and he would have control of all that is outside educational matters, strictly so called. He would thus attend to what he knows about better than the foreign teacher, and would not meddle with what he knows next to nothing about.

And this, says the writer, is what the *Mombu shô* has taken in hand, and the chaos of four years ago is becoming order, regularity, and discipline.

Without going into the whole system of education which is being now established, let us hope with permanent good results, I will quote a paragraph from the *Japan Mail* summary of 1873, which will be found in its issue of January 23, 1874.

"A law was proclaimed in the course of the year 1872, which provided for the establishment of 53,000 schools, or one for every 600 of the computed inhabitants of Japan; and we have been told on the best authority that the provisions of this law have even already been very largely complied with. What may be the precise number of young persons who are now under instruction we cannot undertake to say, but we believe the Educational Department estimate it as exceeding 400,000. The instruction given to these pupils varies, of course, with their various circumstances; but it is in all cases conveyed upon the European or

the American principle, the pupils in the upper schools, instead of squatting on mats, being required to sit on benches and to work at tables. In the various establishments connected with the Government at Yedo the pupils eat food prepared in the European fashion, sit at table at meals, and make use of knives and forks. Those at the Naval College, as well as the marine cadets and the troops of all classes, wear a uniform similar to that worn by the like classes in Europe and America. These pupils are attended by foreign medical officers. For a long period it was the fashion to believe and assert that the Japanese mind was incapable of advancing beyond a certain point in the acquisition either of European language or of European science, but we think the time has arrived when this somewhat hastily formed inference may be exploded.

"During the first years of intercourse betwixt foreigners and Japanese, it was inevitable that great difficulties should be experienced on both sides owing to the entire absence of all aids towards acquiring each others' language. resource that could be adopted by the majority of resident foreigners was to employ Dutch interpreters, whilst the Japanese on their side were compelled to make shift with such young men as they could find who were possessed of a smattering of some foreign tongue. To convey abstruse ideas through the medium of such interpreters was a task which might well alike defy the ablest teachers and the most intelligent pupils, and hence the discouraging idea not unnaturally arose that the Japanese mind was incapable of taking in anything beyond the mere elements of foreign knowledge. But now it is no longer the same difficult matter either for a Japanese or for a foreigner to acquire the language of the other. Thanks to the labours of Dr. Hepburn, Mr. Satow, Mr. Aston and others, the acquisition of the Japanese language has been very materially facilitated; and thanks to the painstaking patience of a number of American and other teachers, a very promising class of scholars of foreign languages has been raised up who will be found to be a very different medium of conveying instruction from most of the present class of interpreters. We are

enabled to state on the best authority—that of a teacher of mathematics, who, being himself an admirable Japanese scholar, can dispense with interpreters—that the intelligence exhibited by his pupils in comprehending mathematics, even in the higher branches, is remarkable. We have likewise been assured by another foreign teacher, and have ourselves seen the proofs, of a like aptitude on the part of another class of Japanese pupils for acquiring the English language; whilst as regards the practical test of the capacity of the Japanese to turn their instruction to account, it may be enough to point to one instance, viz. the fact of their having been enabled to work their own steamers in many cases without any foreign aid whatsoever. If we are correctly informed, the steamers on Lake Biwa have been worked without accidents during the last seven years, there being none but Japanese engineers and officers on board.

"There being thus, as it seems to us, no reason whatsoever to doubt the capacity of the Japanese to receive
instruction in like measure with most Western nations, we
cannot but foresee that with so large a proportion of the
rising generation under instruction, the effects on the development of Japan must be both general and permanent.
It should not, at the same time, be forgotten that, as would
be supposed, there still exists a party attached to the old
ways. There are still schools where Chinese literature is
taught; but these form a quite inconsiderable proportion in
the total aggregate of the educational establishments of the
country.

"But whilst we seem clearly to see that the seeds have been sown of a broad educational system, and the basis laid of a complete governmental system founded on that adopted in Europe, there is another question to be asked in reviewing the condition of Japan of to-day. Will the existing social and political structure endure until such time shall have elapsed as may suffice for the instruction of the rising generation, and for the development of the country under the light of the newly-adopted civilization? This is a question in reply to which many persons would shake their heads doubtingly, whilst a few would answer

it directly in the negative. But for our own part, whilst we frankly own that we see some rocks ahead—more especially connected with finance—we trust we may not be too sanguine in disagreeing with those who doubt the stability of the existing order of things in Japan."

APPENDIX II.

MORALITY AND DECENCY.

Almost every foreign writer on Japan has commented on the want of decency which he has observed during his stay in that country. I would not lay too much stress upon the fact of the coolies and bettos (grooms) living constantly in a nude state, with the exception of a loin cloth; nor on the exhibition during the summer before almost every housefront of females squatting on the mats without a strip of clothing upon them above their waists. All this one saw on first arriving in Japan, not without experiencing a certain shock to the feelings, and these particular customs have prevailed till lately. But we all know that there existed, at least till recently, numerous bath-houses in every town, frequented by both sexes; and no one could be long in Yedo without seeing a number of women in one of the bathing establishments, whose clothing and ornament were limited to the long pins which decorated their dressed-up hair; as to the practice of "tubbing" in the streets, I have myself witnessed a whole family, in the middle of a post-town on the high-road not far from Yokohama, going through the cleansing operation in a large tub opposite their own door, in sight of all passers by. But worse than this were the forms of sweetmeats hanging up openly in the shops; still worse, the quantity of illustrated books, of a kind recalling

our Holywell Street publications of the olden time, and freely read by young girls.

It is true that, by various ordinances, customs such as are mentioned above have been lately prohibited, and in this a salutary and encouraging step has been taken. But such enactments can no more ameliorate the morals of a people in the twinkling of an eye, than the publication of a code of laws can create upright judges; and we are still compelled to judge of these matters as we found them when the treaties were concluded.

There is another subject, connected with Japanese morality, which it is difficult to approach. Mr. Mitford has stated that in no country is the public harlot more abhorred and looked down upon than in Japan. High authority as he is, I must venture to differ with him on this point, and can only wish it were otherwise. Is it not a fact that in the story-books most popular in Japan, the principal personage is often a courtesan, with whom a samurai falls desperately in love, and whom he probably buys out of the brothel with stolen money? The touching story of Gompachi and Kamurasaki (Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan," vol. i. pp. 35—69) is reproduced in a variety of forms, and I have found no abhorrence of the courtesan in any of these tales. On the contrary, the usual description is that of a girl possessed of many virtues and of an affectionate heart, who has simply sold her body for the meritorious purpose of paying her parents' debts. In the eyes of the respectable merchant, at least, the position of the Oiran, or first-class courtesan, is considered to be honourable.

As far as I am capable of judging, I should say the conception of female chastity and virtue, as we apprehend it in Europe, and as these qualities exist among our women, is hardly to be found in Japan. I do not for a moment wish to do injustice to the fair sex of that country, nor will I for a moment deny that there exist pure unmarried girls and virtuous wives in plenty; but I cannot help thinking that the Japanese standard—their point of view as regards morality, is different from ours. Is there a Japanese equivalent for our word "chastity"? I know it not.

No one at least will deny that the Japanese women have been educated on a different principle from our own. have been told to obey their parents implicitly in all respects; and as long as those parents kept them at home, and did not issue their commands to the contrary, they might be as pure in body as our own maidens. But each one knew that if to-morrow her parents directed that she should be sold to a stew, or should become the concubine of any given man, she had nothing to do but to resign herself, without a word or a murmur, to the fulfilment of their decree. And where the woman is looked upon as so inferior to the man, where she prostrates herself before him, serves him at his meals, and is little better than his slave—where too, the vicious system of polygamy, or what is equivalent thereto, flourishes—can the same standard of chastity and virtue exist as with us?

It seems to me that with the Japanese a woman is chaste, not from a religious point of view, not because it is right and natural to be so, but because she is ordered to be so by her parents. It is not with her a matter of principle, it is a matter of obedience. I should be glad if the contrary could be proved.

APPENDIX III.

GEOGRAPHY.

The geography of Japan forms the subject of a learned paper read by Mr. Satow before the Asiatic Society of Japan, on the 22nd of March, 1873. From it I take the liberty of extracting the following:—

A native manuscript entitled Kôkoku chiri riaku, or A Short Geography of the Empire, says: "From the most ancient times until lately Japan did not consist of more than sixty-eight provinces, namely, the five home provinces, the seven circuits, and the two islands; but in the winter of the year before last (1868) it was re-divided into eighty-four provinces, namely, five home provinces and eight circuits."

The Go-kinai, or five home provinces, are Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Idzumi, and Setsu. The seven circuits are the Tôkaidô, Tôzandô, Hokurikudô, Sanindô, Sanyôdô, Nankaidô and Saikaidô. The first division of Japan into provinces was made by Seimu Tennô, A.D. 131–190, in whose time the jurisdiction of the Mikado did not extend further north than a line drawn from Sendai Bay to somewhere about Niigata, the rest of the island, namely, the subsequent province of Déwa and part of Mutsu, being still occupied by the barbarous tribes of whom the Ainos are probably the remaining descendants. What in 1868 constituted sixty-six and a half provinces was divided by him

into only thirty-two.* In the third century the Empress called Jingô Kô-gô, after returning from her victories in Corea, divided the country into five home provinces and seven circuits, in imitation of the Corean arrangement. In the reign of Mommu Tennô (696–707) some of the provinces were sub-divided, so as to increase the whole number to sixty-six. The boundaries then fixed by him were resurveyed in the reign of Shômu Tennô (723–756) by Kibi Daijin and the Buddhist priests Giôgi and Taishô, to whom the task was confided by that Mikado. They are said to have buried charcoal in the earth at points on the boundaries, that being the most imperishable mark which they were able to devise.†

The old division is as follows:—

The Go-kinai, or Five Home Provinces are:—

Yamashiro ‡ or Joshiu.

Yamato ,, Washiu.

Kawachi ,, Kashiu.

Idzumi ,, Senshiu.

and Setsu ... Sesshiu.

The Tôkaidô, or Eastern-sea Circuit, comprises fifteen provinces, namely:—

Iqaor Ishiu. Isé Seishiu. Shima Shishiu. Owari Bishiu. Mikawa Sanshiu. Tôtômi Enshiu. Suruga Sunshiu. IdzuDzushiu. Kai Kôshiu. Sagami Sôshiu. Musashi Bushiu. Awa Bôshiu.

^{*} Kôcho enkaku dzukai.

⁺ Chikata hanrei-roku, vol. i. pp. 20, 21.

[‡] The names given in italics are those most in use.

Kadzusa	or	Sôshiu.
$Shim\^osa$,,	Sôshiu.
and Hitachi	,,	Jôshiu.

The Tôzandô, or Eastern-mountain Circuit, comprises eight provinces, namely:—

Ōmi	or	$G\^oshiu$.
Mino	22	Nôshiu.
Hida	,,	Hishiu.
Shinano	"	Shinshiu.
Kôdzuké	"	Jôshiu.
Shimotsuké	"	Yashiu.
Mutsu	"	Óshiu.
and Déwa		Ushiu.
*	"	Oblina

The Hokurikudô, or Northern-land Circuit, comprises seven provinces, namely:—

	Wakasa	or	Jakushiu
	$\dot{E}chizen$,,	Esshiu.
	Kaga	,,	Kashiu.
	Noto	,,	Nôshiu.
	Etchiu	,,	Esshiu.
	Echigo	,,	Esshiu.
and	Sado (Island)	22	Sashiu.

The Sanindô, or Mountain-back Circuit, comprises eight provinces, namely:—

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Tanshiu.
     Tamba
                           or
                               Tanshiu.
     Tango
                           "
    Tajima
                               Tanshiu.
                           "
    Inaba
                               Inshiu.
                           "
                               Hakushiu.
    Hôki
                           22
    Idzumo
                               Unshiu.
                           "
                               Sékishiu.
    Iwami
and Oki (group of islands).
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The Sanyôdô, or Mountain-front Circuit, comprises eight provinces, namely:—

Harima	or	Banshiu.
Mimasaka	,,	Sakushiu
Bizen	,,	Bishiu.

Bitchiu	or	Bishiu.
Bingo	, , -	Bishiu.
Aki	,,	Geishiu.
$Suv\hat{o}$,,	Bôshiu.
and Nagato	,,	Chôshiu.

The Nankaidô, or Southern-sea Circuit, comprises six provinces, namely:—

	Kii	_	\mathbf{or}	Kishiu.
	Awaji (island)		,,	Tanshiu.
	Awa		,,	Ashiu.
	Sanuki		,,	Sanshiu.
	Iyo		,,	Yoshiu.
and	Tosa		,,	Toshiu.

The Saikaidô, or Western-sea Circuit, comprises nine provinces, namely:—

Chikuzen	or	Chikushiu.
Chikugo	,,	Chikushiu.
$Buze m{n}$,,	Hôshiu.
$Bungo$,,	Hôshiu.
Hizen	,,	Hishiu.
Higo	,,	Hishiu.
Hiuga	,,	Nisshiu.
$\hat{O}sumi$,,	Gûshiu.
and Satsuma	"	Sasshiu.
two islands are:-		

The two islands are:—

Tsushima or Taishiu. and Iki ,, Ishiu.

It will be seen from a comparison of this list of geographical divisions that the main island contains the Go-kinai, Tôkaidô, Tôzandô, Hokurikudô, Sanyôdô, Sanindô, and one province of the Nankaidô. To use the names of these divisions is just as convenient for a Japanese as to use a collective name like that which foreign geographers have misapplied to the whole island would be.* The

^{*} i.e. By calling it Nippon.

explanation of the anomaly is, therefore, that it has never been felt. The smaller of the two adjacent islands, namely Shikoku (or the Four Provinces), contains the rest of the Nankaidô; while the Saikaidô exactly corresponds to the third island, Kiushiu, or the Nine Provinces. Europeans repeatedly confuse this island with the Province of Kishiu, on account of the resemblance of the two names. The fact that the names of these divisions are all derived from Chinese words confirms the statement that the system has emanated from Corea, in which country the Chinese language seems almost universally to have furnished the names of places. Every province, except the eleven of the Hokkaidô, and the seven into which Ôshiu and Déwa have been recently divided, has two names, one generally of pure native derivation, the other composed of the Chinese word shiu, a province, added to the Chinese pronunciation of one of the characters with which the native name is written. In many cases the pedantic Chinese name has completely superseded the original Japanese name in the mouth of the people, in a few both are used concurrently, while in some the original name is retained. For instance, Kôshiu, Shinshiu, and Jôshiu have replaced Kai, Shinano, and Kôdzuké. Isé and Seishiu, Sagami and Sôshiu, Tosa and Toshiu, are used concurrently, while Yamashiro, Yamato, and several more have been retained. In such cases as Higo and Hizen, where the Chinese form is the same for both, it is not adopted in speaking, though it sometimes is in books, to the great confusion of the careful reader. Higo and Hizen were formerly one province, called Hi no Kuni, or "the province of Fire." Echizen, Etchiu, and Echigo are three of the modern divisions of Koshi no Kuni, of which the present provinces of Kaga, Noto, Uzen, and Ugo also formed a part. Echi being the pronunciation of the Chinese character with which Koshi is written, the division nearest to the capital was called Echizen, or "front of Koshi," the next Etchiu, or "middle of Koshi," the furthest Echigo, or "back of Koshi." Kaga and Noto originally formed part of Echizen. Déwa in like manner was part of Echigo. Chikuzen and Chikugo are the two divisions of

the ancient province of Tsukushi, a name which was applied in the most remote times to the whole of Kiushiu. Buzen and Bungo also constituted one province under the name of Toyo. Tamba and Tango were formed out of one province called Taniwa, Tamba being a corruption of Taniwa, and Tango simply "back of Taniwa." Kadzusa and Shimôsa are contractions of Kami-tsu-fusa and Shimo-tsu-fusa, "upper and lower Fusa," while Kôdzuké and Shimo-tsuké are Kami-tsu-ké and Shimo-tsu-ké, "upper and lower Ké," tsu being the archaic generic particle "of." The whole subject of the derivation of the names of the provinces of Japan is well treated in the "Shokoku-meigi-kô" of Saitô Hikomaro, a pupil of the elder Motoöri.

Another division of Japan was made by taking the ancient barrier of Ôzaka on the frontier of Ômi and Yamashiro as a central point, the region lying on the east, which consisted of thirty-three provinces, being called the Kantô, or East of the Barrier, and the remaining thirty-three being called Kansei, or West of the Barrier. This distinction is no longer maintained, the term Kantô (or, Kuantô) being applied at the present day to the eight provinces of Musashi, Sagami, Kôdzuké, Shimotsukê, Kadzusa, Shimôsa, Awa, and Hitachi. Sometimes the four provinces of Idzu, Kai, Déwa, and Mutsu are also included in the term.

Chiu-goku, or Central Provinces, is a name in common use for the Sanindô and Sanyôdô taken together. Saikoku, or Western Provinces, is an ordinary synonym for Kiushiu, which in books is frequently called Chinsei.

For the purposes of taxation the country was again divided into Kantô suji and Kamigata suji, of which the former comprised the twelve provinces just named, while the latter included the rest of Japan. In common language the term Kamigata is applied vaguely to Kiôto and the country round.

The islands of Iki and Tsushima are not included in any of the seven circuits, but form a division by themselves.

The province of Mutsu or Oshiu formerly extended beyond the northern shore of the main island, and included the territories of the daimio of Matsumaë, while the name Yezo, miscalled Yesso by most Europeans, was given not to the whole island, but to that part inhabited by the barbarous tribes.

In 1868, after the rebellious daimiôs of Ôshiu and Déwa had submitted to the Mikado, those two provinces, which far exceeded in extent any others in the country, were subdivided, Déwa into Uzen and Ugo, Ôshiu into Iwaki, Iwashiro, Rikuzen, Rikuchiu, and Michinoku, for obvious political reasons. At the same time the island containing the Matsumaë territory and the settlements of the Ainos, and the Southern Kuriles, were named Hokkaidô, or Northernsea Circuit, and divided into eleven provinces, namely Oshima, Shiribéshi, Ishikari, Téshiwo, Kitami, Ifuri, Hitaka, Tokachi, Kushiro, Nemuro, and Chishima, the last comprising those of the Kurile Islands which belong to Japan.

The Japanese word kuni, which I have rendered by province, seems literally to mean "country," and province must be taken in the sense in which it was used in the maps of France previous to the revolution of 1789. The word kôri, which is used by the Japanese for the subdivision of a province, would be best translated "department." The number of departments in a province varies according to its size. In the old system there were altogether 629 departments, but the addition of the Hokkaidô has raised the number to 715.

For purposes of administration all Japan except the Hokkaidô was again divided in 1872 into three Fu and seventy-two Ken, without regard to the boundaries of the provinces. Fu might well be translated city, and Ken prefecture. The three Fu are Yedo, Ôzaka, and Kiôto, but it would be impossible to give the names of the prefectures as a process of amalgamation is going on just now, which will considerably diminish their number. The names, also,

of some of the prefectures have been changed since the list was first published by the Government.

The accompanying Map shows the old provinces (in parenthesis), and gives the divisions into *Ken* and their names as they now exist since the completion of the process of amalgamation above mentioned.

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GLOSSARY.

A

AINO. Aborigines only now in Yezo, i. 6.

Ama. Nun, i. 30, 36.

Amaïnu. Fabulous heavenly dogs, i. 85, 90.

\mathbf{B}

Bakufu. Shôgun's government. From baku, a curtain such as the Japanese used in war to enclose the part of the camp occupied by the general, and in peace by picnic parties. Fu is properly an "office." The curtain was emblematical of the military power, and hence the office from which the country was administered by the military vassal was called bakufu, i.e., curtain-office, i. 121, note.

Betté-gumi. Body of guards who were especially charged with the protection of foreigners, and accompanied them when out of doors, ii. 63, note.

C

CHIUGU. Emperor's second wife, i. 26, note.

Chiujô. Second honorary rank of general at Court, i. 50, note.

Chiunagon. Next in rank to Dainagon in the Council of State. Now abolished, ii. 8, note

Chôshi, explanation of term, ii. 89.

Chôtei. Emperor. Chô, morning, interview of Ministers with the sovereign in the morning, and tei, a place of general concourse and permanent residence; the midst of the Court. Hence the hall of audience, the Court; hence the Emperor, i. 9.

Chôtéki. Rebel against the Court, i. 21, ii. 82.

D

Daijô Daijin. Great minister of the great government. The highest office to which a subject can attain, i. 24, note.

Daijô-ô. Title of elder of retired Emperors, when there were two, i. 25, note.

Daimiô. Great name. Territorial noble, i. 10; 20, note.

Dainagon. Followed after the Naidaijin in the Council of State. Now abolished, ii. 8, note.

Dairi. Emperor. Originally the Imperial palace, i. 9.

Dan. A legion, i. 16.

Dono. Title originally given to the sesshô, or kuambaku. Now the ordinary epistolary address, like Mr. or Monsieur, ii. 62, note.

E

ETA. Outcasts living in separate villages. Made living by working raw hides into leather, i. 77; abolished, ii. 296.

R

FUDAI. "Vassals of the dynasty," i.e. of the Tokugawa, i. 72.

G.

GAIKOKUGATA. Subordinate officers of the Commissioners for Foreign Affairs, ii. 62, note.

Gakushiu-in. A building set apart by the Court for meetings of the samurai affected to its party, i. 258, note.

Gijô. "To consult and decide." An office in the Government of 1868 to which both kugés and daimios were eligible, ii. 88.

Gohei. Shreds of paper attached to a long wand. Seen in every Shintô shrine, i. 82, note.

Gokénin. Vassals of the Tokugawa shôguns, inferior in rank to the hatomotos, i. 75.

Gokinai. The five provinces round Kiôto, i. 39.

Gongen. General designation of native Shintô gods, whom the Buddhist priests choose to consider as temporary manifestations of their own Indian deities, i. 81, note.

Gorio. Shrine near Kiôto, dedicated to six heroes, one heroine, and one god, i. 350, note.

Gôshi. Two-sworded gentry, living on their own land, and owning no allegiance to any feudal lord, ii. 123, note; 171.

Gun. A division of the country. The division into gun-ken was the monarchical system, i. 10.

\mathbf{H}

Han. Literally fence, its duties being to defend the throne against its enemies. Seems best translated "clan," i. 302, note.

Hara kiri. Death by disembowelment, i. 130.

Hata. Arable land, i. 98.

Hatamoto. "Under the flag." Men who rallied round the shôgun's standard in war time. They belonged to the class of shomiô, small name, i. 74.

Hinin. "Not humans." A class of paupers allowed to squat on waste lands, i. 77; carried dead bodies away from execution grounds, i. 77; abolished, ii. 296.

Hokuchô. Northern Emperor, i. 56.

Hombô. House at Nikkô where the Emperor's Representative took up his residence, i. 80.

Honden. Principal chapel, i. 89.

Hô-ô. Title of Emperor when he shaved off his hair and became a monk; "cloistered Emperor," i. 25, note.

I-J

I. Rank, i. 36, note.

Ikki. Popular tumults against local authorities, ii. 222.

Imina. Mikado's name. Not to be mentioned, ii. 48, note.

Jijiu. May be perhaps best translated "Lord in waiting." They were eighteen in number, and served by the side of the Tennô, ii. 28, note.

Jitô. Head officials of shôyen. Established by Yoritomo, i. 40.

Inkio. "Dwelling in private." A daimio who had retired from his office, i. 110.

Jô. Divided into daijô and shojô. Subordinate officials of departments, ii. 38, note.

Jô-ô. Title of Emperor who had abdicated, i. 25, note

Jungo. Morganatic wife of Emperor. He may have twelve, but the number has seldom been filled up in modern times, i. 259, note.

K

KAGURA. A dance, i. 88.

Kakurô. Same as rôjiu, i. 132.

Kami. Means literally chief, *i.e.* chief official, ii. 38, note. Translated governors of provinces, i. 39.

Karô. Elder. Hereditary office held by cadets of a daimio's family, i. 74, note.

Ken. Division of country, prefecture, i. 10.

Kerai. Vassal, retainer, i. 20.

Kiheitai. Bands of irregular troops, composed of *rônins* and deserters from various clans collected together in Chôshiu, i. 387.

Kinjô (or Konjô) Kôtei. Former designation of reigning Mikado, ii. 105, note.

Kinri. Emperor; the forbidden interior. Originally the Imperial palace, i. 9.

Kirin. A fabulous animal, i. 87.

Kô. Used colloquially to all great persons. Sometimes translated lord, ii. 84, note.

Kôgi. The authorities, ii. 73, note.

Kôgô. Empress, i. 26, note.

Koku, value of, i. 96-97.

Koku-ji-gakari. Kugés who had the Emperor's confidence and were consulted by him, i. 344, note.

Kokushiu. Civilian; provincial governor, i. 40, and note. Later there were eighteen principal daimios called *kokushiu*, i. 72.

Komon. Officials of special knowledge, on whom their chief could rely for information, ii. 90, note.

Kôshi, explanation of term, ii. 90.

Kôtei. Emperor. Kô applied to sovereigns; tei, one who judges the world or rules over the nations, i. 8.

Kuambaku. To be charged with and represent (to the Emperor). This was the regent of the Emperor after he had attained his majority. He was taken from one of the five branches of the Fujiwara family. Abolished in 1868, i. 17, note.

Kuan-gun. Loyal army, i. 53; literally "government army."

Kuansei. West of the barrier of Ôzaka, consisting of thirtythree provinces, i. 19, note.

Kuantô. East of the barrier, eight provinces. Also anciently, in contradistinction to Kuansei, consisting of thirty-three provinces east of the barrier of Ôzaka, i. 19, note.

Kubô sama. Note on the origin of the term, ii. 73.

Kugé. Court noble, i. 10.

Kumonjo, also mandokoro. A sort of Council of State, established by Yoritomo, i. 38.

\mathbf{M}

MIKADO. Emperor. Two derivations, i. 8.

Monchiusho. Tribunal to judge robbers, etc. Established by Yoritomo, i. 38.

N

NAIDAIJIN. Somewhat inferior to the three other daijin, i. 24, note.

Nakasendô. Road of the central mountains. One of the great roads between Kiôto and Yedo, i. 36, note.

Nanchô. Southern Emperor, i. 56.

Ni. Two, i. 36, note.

Niogo. Principal concubines of Emperor, i. 26, note.

0

Оки до уйнгтви. Secretaries of the *rôjiu*, i. 70. Okurina. Posthumous name of Mikado, ii. 105, note.

\mathbf{R}

Reiheishi. Emperor's Envoy sent to Nikkô to offer up the gohei, i. 82, note.

Rôjiu. Council of elders. The chief council of the shôgun. Usually termed go-rôjiu, but the go is simply honorific, i. 70; 129, note.

Rônin. Literally, "wave-man." A two-sworded man no longer belonging to a clan, i. 104, note.

Rusui. Official in charge of a daimio's yashiki during the latter's absence, i. 423.

S

Sadaijin. Great minister of the Left. Next to the daijô daijin, i. 24, note.

Sakô. "Closing of ports," party advocating, i. 229.

Sakuan. Scribes. Subordinate officials of departments, ii. 38, note.

Sambô. Assistant Strategist, i. 407.

Samurai. Two-sworded military retainers, i. 76.

Sanké. Three families of Owari, Kishiu, and Mito. Eligible in certain cases to shôgunate during Tokugawa dynasty, i. 67.

Sansei. Same as Wakadoshiyori, i. 132.

Sanyo. "To be connected with." Subordinate officers in the Government of 1868, ii. 88.

Sato-den, or Sato-bo. A sort of town house, which a prince living outside the city used, on the occasions of his going to Court, to dress in, etc., i. 413, note.

Seifu. "Administration office," government, i. 121, note.

Sei-i-shôgun

Sei-i-tai-shôgun \ Vide note to i. 42.

Sei-tô-shôgun

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Settô. Sword of justice, ii. 161.

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Shimpei. Mikado's body-guard, ii. 123, note.

Shinden. Certain paddy lands brought under cultivation since the last survey, i. 99.

Shiugo. Literally, "protector." Officers appointed to each province by Yoritomo, i. 40.

Shojô. Third honorary rank of general at Court, i. 50, note.

Shô. 109,752 cubic inches, i. 41, note; general, i. 50, note.

Shôgun, general. Fuku shôgun, lieutenant-general, i. 16.

Shôyen. Literally, "villages and gardens." Small districts exempt from the jurisdiction of the kokushiu, i. 40.

Soba-nin. Retainers who walked on either side of their master's palanquin, i. 214.

Sôsai. "Supreme Administrator." An office in the Government of 1868 to which only princes of the blood were eligible, ii. 88.

Suké. Helpers. Immediate subordinates to kami, ii. 38, note.

T

TA. Paddy-land, i. 98.

Taikô. Designation of the retired kuambaku, i. 17, note.

Tairô. "Great elder," or regent; generally written go-tairô by foreigners, but the go is simply honorific, i. 116, note.

Taishô. First honorary rank of general at Court, i. 50, note.

Tamari dzumé kaku. Member of an extraordinary council, sometimes called in to advise on high matters of State, i. 148, note.

Tan. About a quarter of an acre, i. 40.

Taté-é-boshi. Long black caps of hempen cloth, worn by samurai, bounded with a white fillet on the forehead, i. 348, note.

Tenshi. Emperor. Literally, son of heaven, i. 9.

Tennô. Emperor. Ten, heaven, and \hat{o} , which is another way of pronouncing the $k\hat{o}$ in $k\hat{o}tei$, i. 9.

To. 10 to make a koku, i. 41, note.

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